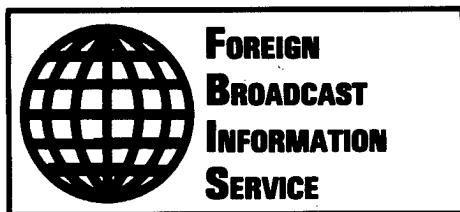
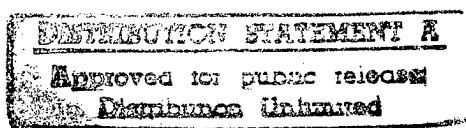


JPRS-NEA-92-144
29 October 1992



JPRS Report



Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

U.S. Said Pressuring Government on Nuclear Facilities

93AS0007D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 6 Sept 92 p 1

[Text] Islamabad: With the intention of stopping Pakistan's nuclear program and opening its nuclear facilities to inspection, the United States has decided to raise the issue in the Security Council. U.S. authorities are trying their best to have a Security Council resolution passed which would open Pakistan's nuclear facilities to inspection and subject Pakistan's nuclear program to inspection by UN officials. According to informed sources, an important public official learned of this U.S. plan during his tour of the United States, and he has decided to bring the matter directly to the attention of the prime minister so that preparation may be made to deal with the U.S. plan.

U.S. Senate Efforts To Halt Nuclear Proliferation Viewed

93AS00281 Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 13 Sep 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Syed Adeeb: "Bread and Butter Versus Pakistan's Bomb"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] United States Democratic Senator John Glenn recently testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that America encouraged the spread of nuclear weapons worldwide and that by intentionally violating the Pressler Amendment and other relevant U.S. nuclear non-proliferation laws, the Reagan and Bush administrations helped Pakistan build atomic bombs. The senator also told the committee that Islamabad made its first nuclear bomb before 1989, yet in October 1989, President Bush again certified that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear explosive device. "This disgraceful U.S. policy failure was accompanied by Alice in Wonderland messages from President Bush," said the senator.

Senator Glenn said: "I have long believed that continued arms exports to Pakistan were no way to halt its nuclear bomb programme. Of the 50 Pakistani attempts to acquire nuclear weapons, three-quarters of them occurred after the Pressler Amendment was enacted: it becomes glaringly apparent that the Reagan and Bush administrations willfully violated not only the Pressler Amendment, but also several other U.S. nuclear non-proliferation laws as well. I believe that the Pressler Amendment was violated almost immediately after it was enacted, when U.S. assistance and arms were transferred even though our government knew Pakistan was continuing its pursuit of the atomic bomb."

Five years ago, a London newspaper published excerpts from an interview with Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, "the father of Pakistan's bomb." Dr. Khan was quoted as

saying: "what the CIA has been saying about our possessing the bomb is correct."

Later, in February 1992, foreign secretary Shaharyar Khan publicly confessed that the Ishaq-Nawaz regime had "inherited" a nuclear capability. He told a United Nations audience on February 7: "there was a capability in 1989," but he denied the nuclear programme was "moved forward" and maintained that "we froze the programme."

9 pointed out [as published]: "Pakistan foreign secretary statements raise some thorny problems for both the American administration and the Pakistani government: if Pakistan possessed these 'elements' back in 1989, then how could the U.S. President have certified that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear explosive device? By the U.S. State Department's own interpretation of the Pressler Amendment, if Pakistan possessed the bomb in pieces, it possessed the bomb. If Pakistan did not possess these 'elements' back in 1989, but acquired them after President Bush made his certification of non-possession in October 1989, then, the foreign secretary's statement (that the programme was 'frozen' when his government came to power in November 1990) is hardly reassuring. The foreign secretary is saying that Pakistan has frozen its status as a de facto nuclear weapons state. He is also admitting that Pakistan has violated its solemn commitment to the United States in 1984 that it would not enrich uranium beyond the five percent level needed for civilian uses."

Senator Glenn continued: "there was voluminous evidence indicating that Pakistan's programme to develop nuclear weapons was advancing throughout the late 1980s. In fact, I believe there is considerable evidence that America's aid and high technology undoubtedly contributed to Pakistan's nuclear and missile capabilities. The F-16 aircraft, we provided along with the dual-use goods, were transferred to nuclear and missile facilities in Pakistan provide sufficient grounds for this conclusion."

Senator Glenn complained that as required by the Glenn Symington Amendment, the Reagan and Bush administrations failed to suspend U.S. aid to Turkey after receiving reports that Pakistan was obtaining nuclear weapons technology through Turkey. The "aid-and-trade" and "waivers-for-favours" U.S. policies for restraining atomic bomb programmes in both Iraq and Pakistan were "complete failures," the senator remarked.

While opposing President Bush's decisions to allow U.S. commercial military sales and technology to Islamabad, Senator Glenn told the committee that the Bush administration is continuing to licence arms sales to Pakistan despite the clear requirement of the Pressler Amendment that 'no military equipment or technology shall be sold or transferred to Pakistan' if it has not received the required presidential Pressler certification. Commercial arms sales do, indeed, contravene both the spirit and the

letter of the Pressler Amendment, which was meant to reduce the risk of nuclear proliferation in Pakistan, said the senator.

While pointing out that U.S. military equipment being supplied to Islamabad includes spare parts for F-16 aircraft, a well-known delivery vehicle for nuclear weapons, Glenn said the Bush administration's position on commercial arms sales to Islamabad lacks a solid foundation in law, it seems almost contrived to subvert and frustrate the very purposes of the Pressler Amendment and other U.S. sanctions against Pakistan. The U.S. senator added: "evidently, elements of our bureaucracy are grasping at straw to perpetuate the myths that additional military transfers will buy U.S. influence over Pakistan's nuclear bomb programme, and that such transfers are perfectly legal. The rationale that our government is somehow justified in licencing sales of munitions to maintain current military capabilities, which the Pakistani foreign secretary now tells us includes nuclear weapons, flies in the face of the black-and-white words of the Pressler Amendment."

Senator Glenn strongly recommended and emphasised that the U.S. policy toward Pakistan must be based on the following points: "for now, we need to firm up our sanctions policy."

First, we must halt all commercial arms exports to Pakistan. The time has come to turn out the lights of a policy that failed to deliver on its promises. The party is over.

Second, we must notify our friends and allies—particularly France and Russia, because of their expressed interest in selling nuclear-capable aircraft to Pakistan—about this decision and urge them to support and not undercut our sanctions policy. We should publicly expose all efforts to frustrate our non-proliferation diplomacy and advise all nations of additional consequences they will face if they continue to pursue such efforts.

Third, we must remind Pakistan's rulers that America expects Pakistan to comply with its 1984 pledge that it would not enrich uranium over the five percent level, needed for peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We can discuss resumption of aid when that promise has been kept and when Pakistan has satisfied our government that it is willing to bring its nuclear programmes fully into line with the Pakistani government's own peaceful policy statements;

"And finally, we should notify Pakistan that we intend to enforce our export licencing standards with respect to sales of dual-use goods. We should undertake a review of our licencing policy with respect to other nations as well that do not satisfy those licencing standards. We should also work closely with other countries that export dual-use goods."

Responding to a question that how effective is the U.S. nuclear non-proliferation policy toward Pakistan, Senator Glenn told the senate committee: "it is well-known that Pakistan was acquiring a nuclear weapons capability throughout the 1980s. There was a direct—not an inverse—relationship between the level of our aid and Pakistan's progress towards the nuclear bomb." To support his point, Glenn submitted a table listing 50 events that show without a doubt that Islamabad was continuing and even accelerating its purchase of the atomic bomb despite all of U.S. aid.

Addressing a question about why the U.S. Congress imposed new conditions on U.S. aid to Pakistan exclusively, Senator Glenn said in the face of sensational daily headlines from around the world attesting to the failure of the U.S. administration's arms-for-nuclear-restraint policy, Congress went to work in the mid-1980s to strengthen conditions on further aid to Pakistan. "It was no more 'discriminatory' for Congress to single out Pakistan for special aid conditions than it was for the executive to issue waiver after waiver of our nuclear non-proliferation laws just on Pakistan's behalf," said the senator.

Senator Glenn said the U.S. Congress hopes that Pakistan—one of the world's poorest nations—will evaluate the full implications of its nuclear bomb programme for the welfare of its 117 million citizens. The longer that Pakistan's bomb and huge military establishment, which spend billions of rupees in the name of defence annually, drain off resources needed to meet the needs of all Pakistanis, the greater will be the real national security threat that Pakistan will face in the years ahead, the senator commented.

U.S. Said Targeting Nation's Nuclear Program

93AS0059B NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 23 Sep 92 p 8

[Editorial: "Nuclear Program: Need to Beware of American Designs"]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush said in his speech in the UN General Assembly that the Security Council should clarify its intentions regarding the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and that the Security Council should impose sanctions against those nations which refuse to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Bush did not name any specific country, but in regard to nuclear programs, Iraq leads the list of countries which have been the target of U.S. oppression. Now Pakistan has been added to the list after Iraq. The destruction of Iraq's nuclear center was engineered through Israel and whatever was left is being finished off by the UN inspection team. For quite a long time, the United States has been punishing Pakistan for its nuclear program. Before 1978, when the Afghanistan problem started, U.S. aid to Pakistan was almost nil; because of the Afghan issue, the United States ignored Pakistan's nuclear program for a time; but as soon as the former Soviet Union was defeated and dismembered, Pakistan

again became the target of U.S. vengeance. The Pressler Amendment was passed to stop aid to Pakistan and Pakistan was warned not to cross the "red signal." Pakistan was made the target of world condemnation for building an Islamic bomb; finally, aid to Pakistan was stopped in order to make Pakistan agree to halt nuclear research at a specific stage and to agree not to transfer nuclear technology to any friendly country. Now Pakistan is being pressured to destroy its nuclear capability. Until now, Pakistan's government has refused to bow to U.S. pressure and has told the United States that Pakistan is ready to destroy its nuclear capacity if India will do the same. The fact is that Pakistan has ventured into the nuclear field because of India, which set off a nuclear explosion in 1974 and thus demonstrated its intentions. It was not possible for Pakistan to defend itself by means of traditional weapons and far from possible to resist India's nuclear weapons. Pakistan has been the target of Indian aggression three times; hence Pakistan has used its nuclear program as a deterrent. But Pakistan has always said that it would accept international restrictions and agreements if India did so as well.

Pakistan has suggested in the United Nations that the Indian Ocean area be declared a nuclear-free zone; India rejected the proposal and obtained nuclear submarines from Russia and added them to the Indian naval fleet. According to the testimony of the former director of the CIA, India has sufficient enriched uranium in its arsenal to build 40 to 100 nuclear bombs. On the other hand, Pakistan has suggested that a five-nation conference be held to solve the nuclear issue; India did not even bother to consider the proposal. In spite of all this, Pakistan has become the target of U.S. vengeance because Pakistan is a Muslim country, and evidence shows that the United States is opposed to the nuclear programs of only Muslim countries. When George Bush asks the Security Council to actively prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, he really means that the wishes of the United States should be carried out. Following the end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union, the UN has become seriously unbalanced and in practice is now controlled by the United States. The fresh effort by the United States to impose the conditions of the nonproliferation treaty through the Security Council means that only Pakistan and other Muslim countries will be targeted. The United States does not believe that non-Muslim countries which have nuclear programs should be punished. The nuclear nonproliferation treaty was signed in 1967 when the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and China had already exploded nuclear devices. The treaty divided the world into two groups: those countries which possessed nuclear force and those which were deprived of such power. The nuclear powers decreed that no new country should step into the nuclear arena and those who wanted to do so should accept the terms of the treaty. Up to now, 130 more countries have signed this treaty, but 30 countries, including Argentina, Brazil, India, Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa, have not signed the treaty. The United States has not protested against any of these countries, excepting Pakistan,

and it appears that fresh plans are being made to harass Pakistan. As a matter of principle, nuclear power does not belong to any one country nor can it be monopolized. Pakistan also wants world peace, and if the nonproliferation treaty is going to help in achieving peace, then Pakistan suggests that India also should be persuaded to sign the treaty. Israel's intentions are no secret; hence, Pakistan should demand that Israel, as well as India, be included in the nonproliferation treaty. If the Security Council should agree to these conditions, then Pakistan would not be interested in becoming a nuclear power. It is the duty of the Security Council not to become a U.S. puppet but to help in establishing an equitable order in the world.

Regional Solution to Nuclear Impasse Urged

93AS0059A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 27 Sep 92
p 10

[Editorial: "American Aid and the Nuclear Program: A Regional Solution Should Be Found"]

[Text] U.S. ambassador designate to Pakistan, John Monjo, has told the Senate foreign relations committee that there is no possibility of the resumption of U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan and that the sole purpose of the talks being held with Pakistan is to stop Pakistan's nuclear program. Everyone knows the U.S. ambassador designate's statement and U.S. intentions are no secret. However, two days ago, the U.S. AID director in Pakistan announced in an interview the "good" tidings that additional changes were being made in the Pressler Amendment under which aid to Pakistan had been ended. The draft of these changes was ready and was being studied by a congressional committee dealing with such matters, and when the changes were passed, aid to Pakistan for such sectors as economics, education, and welfare would be restored. The director of U.S. AID can best explain how true his statement is; but as far as Pakistan's expectations are concerned, after the success of the Afghan jihad and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, Pakistan has realized that the United States no longer needs Pakistan and events have proved that Pakistan's conjecture is correct. The United States has stopped economic and military aid to Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment. The outrageous fact is that deals concluded before the end of aid were also suspended, including the one regarding F-16 planes. To add insult to injury, Pakistan is being made to pay the expense of storing these planes.

The United States has said that it ended aid to Pakistan because of the latter's nuclear program. The United States has doubts regarding Pakistan. Recently, George Bush demanded in the UN General Assembly that all countries be forced to sign an agreement limiting nuclear weapons and that countries which refuse to do so should have sanctions imposed on them by the Security Council [?]. It should be noted that Pakistan has always adopted a policy of compromise and understanding with brother nations and has said that it is willing to sign the nuclear

nonproliferation treaty if India does so as well. Pakistan has suggested making South Asia a nuclear-free zone and has proposed in the United Nations that the Indian Ocean also be made a nuclear-free zone. Prime minister Nawaz Sharif recently suggested that the future of the nuclear issue be settled at a five-nation conference. Clearly, Pakistan has never been intransigent in its behavior; whereas India and Israel have never shown any willingness to accept the decisions of the international community. If there is nuclear proliferation in this region, it is because of the nuclear programs of India and Israel. India has already set off a nuclear explosion without encountering any restrictions from the United States or the brotherhood of nations. Regarding the limiting of nuclear proliferation, Nawaz Sharif said in an interview with SOUTH ASIA MAGAZINE that the passing of laws against any single country would not solve the problem of nuclear proliferation. The prime minister also has made it clear that he would not trade national independence for relations with the United States. Pakistan's stand is based on justice and truth; because of the regional situation, Pakistan needs a nuclear deterrent for legitimate defense; without such a deterrent, Pakistan would be exposed to serious danger from India. If the United States wants to end Pakistan's nuclear program, it should include India and Israel in the restrictions. A good move would be to accept the prime minister's proposal of a five-nation conference so that a collective solution for the nuclear issue could be found and a balance of power maintained in the region.

Government Seen Lacking Cultural Diplomacy

93AS0028F Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 15 Sep 92 p 10

[Article by Shafaat Kalim: "The Problems of Cultural Diplomacy"; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpt] Pakistanis, living abroad and those paying short visit to foreign countries, often complain of inadequate or non-existent projection of the country's cultural heritage and contemporary accomplishments in fine arts, literature, and sports. Within the country, our people including those living in big cities like Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore, Multan and the federal and provincial capitals, seldom get to see the fascinating variety of artistic and cultural wealth of this era.

There is a widespread tendency to blame our diplomatic missions abroad for their inability and unwillingness to introduce Pakistan in the international community. The absence of opportunities for Pakistanis access to the arts and cultures of the world are conveniently ascribed to either the incompetence or niggardliness of foreign missions and the countries they represent, or the lack of enthusiasm on their part to expose their civilisation and culture to the people of Pakistan.

It is a sad fact that people in most countries of the world do not know much about us and are, therefore, not excited about interacting with us. Our relations with the

majority of foreign countries are limited to official contacts and, in some cases, economic and commercial exchanges. In the industrialised, rich countries of the OECD [Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development] we are seen as a poor Third World country in a remote corner of Asia critically dependent on foreign aid, plagued by quarrelsome relations with the neighbouring countries, fragile political institutions vulnerable to frequent military coups, incorrigible illiteracy, violent social upheavals, and devoid of cultural renaissance.

Our own people view the world outside as divided between the arrogant "haves" and the irrelevant "have-nots" and former not interested in us and the latter not worth knowing, consequently, our world view is a narrow, incoherent and is formed by incorrect and misleading images.

In a broad cultural sense, we are a nation that lives in a harrowing isolation from the international community. Our detractors take advantage. Our adversaries have a field day in projecting us as a backward society, founded on theological divisiveness rapidly moving into the quagmire of religious fundamentalism, which breeds intolerance and hostility towards all and sundry, especially the West. We are portrayed as politically brittle, economically on the brink of a precipice, culturally in the Dark Ages, socially at war amongst ourselves and the world at large.

We have allowed impenetrable walls to separate us from the civilised world, because we have persistently ignored the imperative need for giving a cultural dimension to our diplomacy. Abroad, our missions focus on forging links between our government and the functionaries of the host countries, seek economic, technical and technological assistance, and where we have expatriate communities, try to look after the "consular" needs of Pakistanis.

The walls of our chanceries are painted white displaying old maps of Pakistan and of the land where the missions are located; the floors are covered by inexpensive carpets; the reading rooms display old issues of THE PAKISTAN TIMES and the coffee table pictorial JOURNEY TO PAKISTAN. Rarely, if ever, will you see a Chughtai, a Sadeqain, a Shakir Ali, a Salima Hashmi in a Pakistani Mission. Only a handful of missions boast a couple of the fine hand-knotted Bukhara carpets. None of our 70 odd missions has a brochure, let alone a book, depicting our arts and crafts.

Ask a typical Pakistani diplomat about the academic institutions, museums, art galleries, theatres, craft centres in the country of his postings. He has not seen any, because he/she has never had to deal with them. His/her knowledge about these "odd" things in Pakistan is just profound!

Pakistan has concluded agreements, protocols, and cultural exchange programmes with some 60 countries of the world, proclaiming the shared resolve of the Islamic

republic and the countries concerned "to strengthen and expand contacts and cooperation in education, creative arts such as theatre, paintings and music, archaeology, universities and academic centres, libraries and museums, arts and crafts."

Foreign countries have agreed in these documents to receive the art facts depicting our 500-year-old civilisation, our sculptors, our painters, our dancers, our teachers, our youth. We have undertaken to receive troupes from all over the world in covenants painstakingly negotiated and crafted in fine language.

Implementation of these two-way commitments, made on behalf of our government and our people, and bearing the signatures of our leaders and officials would generate a bewitching array of actions and activities in Pakistan and the four corners of the world, such as Pakistani festivals of performing arts and cultural exhibitions, joint workshops on the Indus Valley Civilisation, seminars on our history, our past, and discourses on our struggle to develop our material, intellectual, and spiritual resources. Pakistanis would see a glimpse of South American civilisation claiming to be older than ours; dances of the ancient peoples of Australia and New Zealand; and views of the architecture of Andalus brought in by the Spanish Embassy.

Tragically, none of our cultural agreements, not even the one with China, has ever been implemented. Other than Britain, the U.S., and the Gulf countries, where our large expatriate communities serve as cultural bridges, very few countries have ever seen an archaeologist or scholar of Gandhara, musician, a craftsman, a painter, a weaver or a potter from a country that was the birthplace and mainspring of one of history's most remarkable civilisations.

The reason is that our 'democracy' does not have a cultural arm. We have consistently ignored or systematically maltreated all our cultural institutions, the provincial education and culture departments as well as the federal culture and sports division as also organisations such as the Pakistan National Council of the Arts, the Lok Virsa, the National Council for Historical Research, the Academy of Letters. We have denied them financial and human resources. We are contemptuous towards their work and their plans. We ridicule our artists and run down our artisans.

It is nothing less than a miracle that Pakistani creative arts survived the severely inhospitable climate generated by Gen. Zia's feverish attempts, over eleven years, to plunge us in a Jahiliya packaged as Islam. Our dancers learned and rehearsed behind close doors; our actors performed for limited audiences in drawing rooms; our craftsmen starved but kept moving their fingers and hands; our painters put off the hopes of a decent living indefinitely, but not their profession of pouring out their feelings, pains, joys, dreams, and nightmares on paper and canvas.

While our artists somehow fought off the cancer of medievalism, the world outside began to treat Pakistan as a country whose evolution as a modern, enlightened and progressive Muslim state had been reversed. We were admired for our anti-Soviet alliance in Afghanistan and despised for our despotic political dispensation, which abhorred culture justified in terms of a return to Nizam-i-Mustafa.

Stepmotherly treatment of culture was, perhaps, understandable (if indefensible) during Gen. Zia's Islam, today it is neither comprehensible nor desirable. We must recognise culture as the substance of life, we must take steps to resuscitate our performing arts such as classic and folk dances, theatre, mushairas, painting, calligraphy, our rural arts and crafts, and our extraordinary wealth of handlooms. A cultural renaissance is indispensable for engaging our people, especially our youth, in healthy occupations.

[Passage omitted]

Passengers Reportedly Harassed at Saudi Airports *BK2110124092 Islamabad THE NEWS in English* 21 Oct 92 p 12

[Text] Jeddah—Pakistani passengers arriving at various Saudi airports being subjected to severe harassment by Drug Enforcement Cell officers and Customs officials. This increase in surveillance has been going on for the last month and a half and there is some justification for their suspicions.

After every flight lands, 10 to 15 people are separated from rest of the passengers and taken to a laboratory situated at the airports or driven to local hospitals. Here they are given laxatives. Heroin capsules are often extracted through this method. Four to five people a day are being arrested on drug smuggling charges. Every Friday some Pakistani drug smuggler or the other is being publically [as published] beheaded.

The Pakistan Embassy has not tried to interfere in this sordid affair and has shown its complete indifference to the plight of innocent Pakistanis who are being harassed for no crime of the own. [as published]

A mini heroin factory was unearthed from the residence of the Pakistan ambassador two years ago. The guard at his residence has been locked up in a prison.

Regional Affairs

Plan for Militants To Cross Into India Outlined *93AS0007A Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 31 Aug 92 p 1*

[Text] Islamabad, 30 August (PPI): The Jammu and Kashmir Jamhoori Ittehad [Democratic Alliance] has announced that it will cross the cease-fire line in 43 locations on 24 October and that the march will continue until the objective is achieved. Addressing a crowd in a joint press conference here on Sunday afternoon, retired

Major General Hayat Khan, Barrister Sultan Mahmud, Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, and Zafar Ali Magray announced their collective stand against compromise and pressure to postpone the decision to cross the cease-fire line. Retired Major General Hayat Khan said that the Azad Kashmir [Free Kashmir] government had taken a non-serious attitude in regard to the Kashmir freedom movement and that its non-serious actions were directly benefitting India and taking public attention away from the Kashmir freedom movement. Barrister Sultan Mahmud Chaudhary said that to give final shape to its 24 October program, Jamhoori Ittehad had contacted all political, religious, and social parties, and that these parties would cooperate fully in the matter. Zafar Ali Magray said that no Kashmiri would even think of taking any extreme action which would be against Pakistan's security and integrity or that would create a problem for Pakistan's army. Sardar Khalid Ibrahim said that the Muslim Conference is cooperating fully in the program to cross the cease-fire line.

Seventy Thousand Militants Said Ready To Enter India

93AS0062B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 18 Sep 92
pp 15-16

[Kashmir JI (Jamaat-i-Islami) Amir [Abdul Rashid Tarabi] Interviewed by Mohammad Azam Gondal: "Seventy Thousand Mujaheddin Ready To Take part in Kashmir Jihad"; place and date not given]

[Text]

[Gondal] In your historical announcement that you plan to cross the Control Line, you did not make clear how you will cross it. Will you do it just like the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] did or use some other approach?

[Tarabi] I have said that I have 70,000 trained young men ready to call for jihad in Kashmir. They will go wherever necessary and as they get the opportunity. They will not go together from one place, but will cross the Control Line from various points.

[Gondal] Won't it cause problems for Pakistan's government?

[Tarabi] The campaign for Kashmir's independence is on the rise in occupied Kashmir now. Incidents of mass murders and gang rapes are increasing daily. The Indian soldiers enter cities and rural areas and commit atrocities on the people under the guise of checking for mujaheddin. Innocent people are arrested and taken to interrogation centers where they are tortured. Whole settlements are being burned. Thousands of people are being killed and hundreds of mujaheddin are in jails. You can see that many atrocities are being committed there. It appears that India's goal is total genocide of Muslims. This situation calls for the people and the Government of Pakistan to help the Kashmiris because the people of Pakistan consider Kashmir a part of their

country. The people of occupied Kashmir had hoped that the Pakistani Army would help them. The Government of Pakistan has disappointed them. We are going there to end their frustration and help them. We believe that if the government blocks our efforts then the people of Pakistan will support us.

[Gondal] You said that the people of Pakistan consider Kashmir an integral part of Pakistan and that they will cooperate in helping the Muslims in occupied Kashmir. However, from my perspective, the situation is very different. The people of Pakistan, especially the young people, are very fond of Indian culture. Every home is full of Indian [songs on] audio and videos. In such a situation how can they help you in a jihad against India?

[Tarabi] We have seen only scenes of great faith in Pakistan. During my various trips to Pakistan, in every part of Pakistan, including Sarhad, Punjab, and Balochistan, and even in inner Sindh, whenever we described the situation in Kashmir, people offered their help with great emotions. At one place, after our presentation, an old man approached me and said that he had no heir and had saved money for his funeral, however, after hearing the problems of the mujaheddin, he thought that the money belonged to them. That is the kind of emotions people have! You have seen yourself in Karachi how, when the JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] started a campaign for Kashmir a few weeks ago, hundreds of thousands of rupees were collected. People sold their homes to help the Kashmiri mujaheddin. The women donated the jewelry they were wearing. I am not disappointed in this connection. As for the videos and Indian culture, this is an organized conspiracy by the enemy. It wants the Pakistani youth to be involved in merriment and stay away from jihad. I believe that it is the duty of all religious groups who want jihad over Kashmir to work hard to stop this epidemic and educate the young people about the real purpose of their lives.

[Gondal] What is the role of the Azad Kashmir government in this campaign for Kashmir's independence?

[Tarabi] Azad Kashmir has 20 camps for jihad in Kashmir. Therefore, it is the duty of Azad Kashmir's government to utilize all its resources in the campaign for Kashmir's independence. The situation, however, appears to be different. The people are disappointed with the government's attitude and efforts. The people are not satisfied with the leadership. It is imperative that military officers reach consensus over the Kashmir issue and all people work together. The present prime minister of Azad Kashmir can do this work; however, he is spending all his energy keeping his hold on power. His only goal is to stay in power and benefit himself and his family. If he has done something for the freedom of occupied Kashmir, he has done a lot more to hurt the cause.

[Gondal] What is your opinion about the Pakistani Government's policy on Kashmir?

[Tarabi] I believe that Pakistan is going through a difficult time now and various countries are pressuring Pakistan. The Hindu lobby is working hard at the international level. They are using the United States of America and various international agencies against Pakistan. However, we would welcome a declaration by the Pakistani Government supporting jihad over Kashmir and the campaign to free Kashmir. What is important is starting an international campaign against India and informing the world about Indian atrocities. The whole world is witness to these. Amnesty International and other human rights organizations have said that India is committing inhuman acts in Kashmir. Four of these organizations that have published reports on Indian atrocities are from India. Based on all this evidence, we should have India declared a terrorist nation because it is suppressing basic human rights. Our government's foreign policy is defective. The people in various countries I have visited are unhappy with Pakistan's embassies. These embassies have gone so far as to say that they have no clear instructions from the Pakistani Government on the policy on Kashmir. I believe this shows how inefficient our government is.

[Gondal] Crossing the cease-fire line in such large numbers could result in loss of lives. Have you made any plans to avoid this?

[Tarabi] We are not taking untrained or unarmed people. We are taking armed and alert people who are trained in fighting. We will make full arrangements to beat our enemy decisively. We are not saying that not even one of our people will be killed. Martyrdom is our desire and every member of our organization is ready for it. Allah willing, we shall harm the enemy a lot more than it will harm us. The jihad in Kashmir requires that we involve the enemy at various fronts because it has its whole attention focused on the valley of Kashmir. We will divert its attention on different fronts. We will make so many problems for it in the whole region that it will become impossible for India to take care of them. We are confident that, Allah willing, we will be fully successful in our efforts and we will lose very little life and property in this confrontation against India.

[Gondal] The jihad for Kashmir started three years ago. Why did you announce your involvement after such a long time. What was the reason for delay?

[Tarabi] We were getting ready. Our goal was training and procuring resources. Also, it was important for the world to see that this campaign started from within occupied Kashmir and was not taken from here to there. This also gave us time to let the world see Indian atrocities. All this has happened and we have attained our basic goals. Now we will move forward to help the suffering people in occupied Kashmir. No one will be able to call our efforts outside efforts and the whole process will look very natural.

[Gondal] The JI is taking a major role in jihad in both parts of Kashmir. Will you tell us what the JI has accomplished in this area?

[Tarabi] The JI has always believed that the only solution to this problem is jihad. About 30 or 35 years ago, Maulana Maudoodi rejected all other possibilities and said that only those who will rise for a jihad will be able to resolve this issue. Thus, the JI formed a long-range plan to prepare the people for a jihad. The JI already was active in occupied Kashmir. Twenty years ago, the JI in Azad Kashmir was started to join Azad Kashmir and occupied Kashmir. The JI continued its efforts to prepare the people for jihad on both sides of the cease-fire line. It also provided ideological training on jihad to hundreds of thousands of young people in occupied Kashmir. Maulana Abdul Bari, the first chief of Azad Kashmir JI, visited occupied Kashmir during the 1980's. He carefully analyzed the situation and possibilities of jihad there. He also met with the young men trained by the Tehriq-i Islami and learned about their feelings and perceptions. On his return, he declared that he was fully convinced that the stage for a jihad was all set and that, if those people were provided training and other facilities, a large-scale war for independence could be started.

[Gondal] When were plans for jihad started?

[Tarabi] The visits to occupied Kashmir were started in 1982. During 1982-83, Maulana Syed ul-Din, chief of occupied Kashmir's JI, visited us. We had very informative talks on various subjects with him. He also met many important people here and a "line of action" was formulated. This was followed by a series of training visits by various people. Three or four years ago, visits by mujaheddin started on a large scale. At this time, responsible people from both sides worked together and prepared short- and long-term strategies to make this campaign successful. Our friends from the other side wanted assurance before talking openly. When we provided this assurance, the mujaheddin from the other side began to come here in large numbers. By Allah's wishes, we were fortunate to have had the opportunity to serve them. We tried to fulfill their needs. Even though there were large numbers of mujaheddin belonging to the JI, all mujaheddin that came from the other side were served without any regard to their affiliation. All mujaheddin reported to our central office and we sent them to various camps. We used all our resources to help them. We stopped all our developmental projects and closed the schools we operated for spreading Islam. The people of Pakistan fully cooperated with us. The Pakistani JI and Qazi Hussein Ahmed played a very important role in these efforts. They worked hard and also guided us. We received more resources because of their efforts. Allah is merciful and the result of all our work is that all mujaheddin organizations in occupied Kashmir recognize and respect our services. They do not ignore our request when there are some minor skirmishes among these groups.

Jihad is an act of total cooperation. Preparing an appropriate climate for jihad, meeting the needs of the muja-heddin, and informing the world about Kashmir's jihad are all very important tasks. We have executed all these. Our sister organizations are also busy in these efforts. Their progress can be seen in the United States, Britain, and the Arab nations. We have tried to provide relief aid to the other side on a large scale. We have spent over 137 million rupees on these projects so far. Not even a cent from any government is included in this money. This money was donated by the people, members of the Tehriq-i Islami, and those who believe in Tehriq-i Islami.

Indian Navy Criticized for Monitoring Exercises

BK2309141992 Karachi DAWN in English 23 Sep 92 p 4

[Text] Karachi, Sept 22—The Chief of the Naval Staff, Admiral Sayeed M. Khan has expressed concern over the monitoring of Pakistan's naval exercise "Sea Spark, 92" by India and described it as a blow to confidence building measures initiated by the two countries.

Briefing the newsmen on board PNS [Pakistan Navy Ship] Babur off Gawadur on Tuesday, he said that since the beginning of Sea Spark, 92, on Sept 16, the Indian naval ships had been active in the area and were closely monitoring the movement of Pakistani ships taking part in the exercise.

"We have asked them to go away as it is against the confidence building measures between the two countries," he emphasised. Without giving the exact number of Indian ships on surveillance in the area, the naval chief said that since our first warning they slightly went back, "but we feel they can still check our communications," he added.

"It is not an unusual thing. Navies of other countries also monitor each others exercises. Giving examples he said Greece and Turkey and former Soviet Union and United States were quite famous for keeping a track of each others navies, he added.

However, he said that Pakistan and India in a high-level meeting of secretaries level had agreed not to monitor each other's exercises as a part of confidence building measures. But India was now violating it, he added.

About Sea Spark, 92, he said that the exercise in which all the naval ships were taking part would continue till Sept 26. After that, senior naval officials would evaluate the entire exercise.

For this major exercise, he said, the Pakistan Navy had been divided into two forces—the Orange (enemy's forces) and the Blue (Defensive forces)—and each of them was secretly implementing their plans being monitored by the observers or judges deputed on each vessel.

About the Pakistan Navy, Admiral Sayeed M. Khan said that it had been neglected in the past. The present

government, he said, took interest in it and released funds and okayed its proposals for the purchase of modern warships.

But he felt that more attention should be given to the navy as it often took decades to modernise and develop a navy. The naval chief also highlighted on the modern submarines, mine sweepers and other equipment the navy was going to have in the near future.

Over a question, he said that the Pakistan Navy did not require any aircraft carrier as it believed in peaceful coexistence and was against any aggression or any hegemony in the area. "We know our requirements and a number of suggestions have been submitted to the government for approval," he added.

About the development of ports in the area, the naval chief said that the government had already given the permission to build a naval port in Ormara. The new port will also be used by the commercial ships. The Submarine Rebuilding Complex would also be built at Ormara, instead of Port Qasim, he said.

Earlier, the naval chief briefed the Balochistan Governor, Mr. Gul Mohammad Khan Jomezai, about the naval exercise. The naval chief had specially invited the governor and the chief minister on board PNS Babur. However, the Balochistan chief minister postponed the visit at the last moment.

The Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff Operations Rear Admiral Azhar H. Naqvi was also present at the briefing.

Internal Affairs

Beg Implicated in 1988 Fatal Plane Crash

93AS0028G Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST (Supplement) in English 11 Sep 92 pp 1

[Article by Aziz-Ud-Din-Ahmad: "The Crash of '88"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Two years ago, on 17 August 1990, Ijazul Haq, while addressing a huge rally at the graveside of his father, demanded of the establishment to start enquiry into the crash of C-130 that killed, among others, the President of Pakistan General Muhammad Ziaul Haq. Calling Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Gen. Aslam Beg and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi one by one by name, he said, "You had told me it was due to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government that the Bahawalpur tragedy could not be investigated. As the PPP government is not there anymore, now it is your moral, constitutional, political and religious duty to expose those responsible for it."

A year passed and no enquiry was conducted. Then, speaking at the same occasion, he said on 17 August 1991, "If the enquiry of the Bahawalpur tragedy is not completed within one year, I will present to the people my own report."

Another year passed without any move being made by the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government other than appointing a committee under the Interior Minister which failed to produce any report.

Then on the third anniversary of the death of Ziaul Haq, Ijazul Haq burst out, "The persons responsible for the Bahawalpur tragedy have been pointed out by the press. The government should arrest them. It should debar them from leaving the country. The year '92 should see them hanged."

He was referring to a 24-page report carried by the Karachi weekly TAKBEER in which a number of army officers had been held responsible for the crash. Within less than a fortnight of the speech Nawaz Sharif appointed a judicial commission to probe the causes of the incident.

The crash of the C-130 on 17 August 1988 was a major event in the history of Pakistan. Besides killing the head of the state, the crash had claimed the lives of twenty nine other individuals, among whom were some of the senior generals of the Pakistan army. An Air Force Enquiry Board was constituted to conduct investigations a day after the incident. It was assisted by an American team of investigators and the report was published on 16 October 1988.

The 350-page report while ruling out almost all technical, structural, and human failures as the cause of the disaster, had expressed the view that "an extremely sophisticated sabotage," possible release of some poisonous gases in the cockpit incapacitating the captain and the co-pilot of C-130, might be responsible for the crash. It was a "criminal act of highly sophisticated sabotage committed in the aircraft."

The Board recommended a number of measures, the foremost of them being an investigation "to determine the perpetrators of the criminal act of sabotage."

Before the Board report was made public, and even afterwards, contradictory explanations of the crash were given by various people and organisations. India, Afghanistan, Soviet Union and United States were declared to be possible external perpetrators of the crime while inside the country Shias, the PPP leadership, and elements within the armed forces were alternately held responsible.

The dailies NATION and NAWAI WAQT published reports blaming the U.S.S.R., India and Afghanistan. A week after the incident on 23 August, the former published an excerpt from the DAILY EXPRESS to the effect that "late President Zia told his close friends hours before he was killed that he had been tipped off about an assassination plot." Quoting an unnamed friend of Gen. Zia the paper said he confided, "The Russians are trying to suck me out." Next day WASHINGTON POST was quoted by the same paper as saying, "Khad is being suspected."

A week later on August 29, NAWAI WAQT carried a report from its special correspondent saying, "Bharat is responsible for the Bahawalpur crash. Indian, Afghan and Soviet secret agents had colluded (to bring it about). The incharge of the operation had been a Russian major general."

This was from a section of the press. No less a man than Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg implicated Soviet Union and India in the act of sabotage. During his hour-long speech before army officers on 25 August, he termed Ziaul Haq's death a conspiracy and referred to the "threatening statements made by a spokesman of the Soviet Union and the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi" appearing in press on August 13 and 15, respectively.

This was pooh-pooed by the American magazine VANITY FAIR which called the whole thing "an inside job" and commented: "The KGB or the Indian intelligence might have the motive, and even the means to bring down the plane but neither of them had the ability to stop planned autopsies at military hospitals in Pakistan, stifle interrogation, or for that matter keep the FBI out of picture. The same is true of anti-Zia undergrounds. Only powerful elements inside Pakistan had the means to orchestrate what happened before and after the crash..."

Who were these powerful elements? Two days after the crash FINANCIAL TIMES had published a report wired by David Husego and Christina Lamb which said, "Among a welter of speculations and rumours, the most plausible explanation was that disaffected members of the armed forces may have planted a bomb on the aircraft," but more of it a little later.

Shias were also being suspected as their spiritual-cum-political leader Arif-al-Hussaini had been murdered a few days before with no clue to the assailants. The suspicion led to the arrest and torture of the pilot of the backup C-130 who was made to confess that he had persuaded Sajid, the co-pilot of Zia's plane and also a fellow Shia, to crash Pak. 1 in a suicide bid. He, however, denied the charge even after two months of incarceration and torture.

The opponents of PPP put the blame on Al-Zulfiqar and the PPP leadership for the crash. Ijazul Haq, who had all the time insisted on the investigation of the incident and had apparently kept an open mind, accused the PPP a little after he decided to contest the election. At a press conference on 17 August 1990 he said, "PPP and its leadership is responsible for the Bahawalpur crash." This was before he had become a minister and had not yet been disappointed with the IJI's conduct of the inquiry.

During its twenty-month rule, the PPP continued to insist that the crash was "an act of God." This was, for instance, the opinion of Gen.(Retd) Sarwar Cheema, Minister of State for Defence. In a press conference on 27 June '89 he said the crash was not caused by mechanical failure nor was it due to human error and no foreign

elements were found on the plane. Under these circumstances it could not have been other than "an act of God and should be treated as such." Apparently there was hardly any sense in investigating a divine act.

The most detailed account of how the conspiracy might have been hatched by elements within Pakistan army was to be published by the weekly TAKBEER in its issue dated 20 August this year. About six months before this article was to be published, Brig.(Retd) Yusuf, a former Director of the ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence], had shared the view in his *Bear Trap*. He believed there were strong possibilities of a junior functionary of the Pakistan Army being involved in the plot. But he did not altogether rule out the participation of a senior officer as preventing the post mortem of the dead bodies could not have been possible otherwise. He thought Gen. Durrani, one of the senior officers accused by TAKBEER, was used by conspirators very cleverly, as the crash would not have taken place if he had not pressed Zia to come to Bahawalpur. The gas used to incapacitate the pilot and his companion might have been planted in a container by a junior air force technician, he argued.

The TAKBEER report was a real bomb shell and it was not possible for the government to remain inactive. Here was a published report that put in the dock the present I.B. Chief Brig.(Retd) Imtiaz along with the Generals Shafiq, Sarfraz and Mahmud Ali Durrani besides at least six other army officers.

According to the TAKBEER story both Zia and Akhtar Abdur Rehman were unwilling to attend the test exercise of an American MIAI Abraham tank, a fact corroborated by both the VANITY FAIR article and Brig. Yusuf. Zia was persuaded by Gen. Durrani to attend it while Akhtar was prevailed upon to cancel his appointments and join Zia by Brig. Imtiaz, at that time a Brig. in the ISI. The security arrangements were consciously bungled by certain army officers who were identified. Mango crates, containing phosphorous bombs were presented to Zia by Gen. Durrani, and personally checked and okayed by Maj. Ifzaal, a confidant of General Shamim Alam, Sarfraz, Shafiq and Durrani at the same time. Gas bombs which were to incapacitate the crew were hidden in a box with mounted decorative model planes which was conveyed to the cockpit through Captain Aamir. Major Ifzaal, according to the report, was responsible for igniting the bombs inside the mango crates as well as those hidden inside model aeroplanes through remote control. To ensure complete success of the plan, a rocket was fired from the ground, and it hit the plane. The shell of the rocket was disposed of secretly by Col. Ijaz with the connivance of Maj. Ifzaal and Maj. Salim.

After the accident had happened, Maj. Gen. Sarfraz saw to it that all traces of the conspiracy were removed. It was he who ordered to return the plastic bags, containing the remains of the crash victims, to the coffins for burials without a post mortem.

The report implicates Gen. Beg in no ambiguous terms. The General, if the report is accepted to be true, made false statements about his immediate destination after the incident. He refused to go with the President on the pretext that he was not bound for Pindi. He was lying when he said he was to go to Pindi after visiting Multan as his log book clearly mentioned Pindi as the next destination. Even the captain of his plane, Col. Minhaj told the enquiry committee that the General was to go straight to Pindi. That is why he was prematurely retired, the TAKBEER report suggests. The General has been accused of showing unusually keen interest in the Air Force Report before it was made public—he has been reported to have waited to have an early copy of it for two hours and a half at the office of the Air Chief. But once he had gone through it his interest, according to the weekly, waned. He failed to institute a court of enquiry or a military investigation board. This too, according to the weekly, is fishy. The General has been advised to become a state witness in a recent issue of TAKBEER.

A judicial commission to pinpoint responsibility of the crash of '88 has been delayed for four years. The way the whole affair was treated for such a long time smacked of a cover-up. Are we ready for the truth today?

Murtaza Bhutto Interviewed on Plan To Topple Government

93AS0062A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Sep 92 p 3

[Editorial: Murtaza Bhutto's Admission“]

[Text] Murtaza Bhutto, founder and chief of the Al-Zulfiqar organization, admitted in an interview given to a Karachi daily in Damascus that his organization is well-organized, effective, and active in Pakistan. He claimed that he has the ability to start an armed confrontation with Pakistan's army. Murtaza Bhutto said that he has hundreds of thousands of trained soldiers. It is possible that he was distorting his information just to awe the present government. Still, once again Murtaza Bhutto has admitted that the Al-Zulfiqar organization exists and that it is involved in subversion and violence. The whole leadership of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] insists that Al-Zulfiqar does not exist. It is not clear what Murtaza Bhutto's goals are and what he hopes to achieve by terrorism. If he wants to avenge his late father Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's hanging, then it is unnecessary after the Bahawalpur accident. President Ziaul Haq, whom he blamed for his father's hanging and considered his family's enemy, is not alive now. President Ziaul Haq's associates and followers that are left can be counted on the fingers of two hands. If one wants to do something against them, one does not need to train hundreds of thousands of persons in terrorism. If we consider Murtaza Bhutto's claim to be true, it means that he has some other goal, and he is trying to make the dreams of some separatist leaders come true.

It gives us satisfaction that our government circles have paid attention to Murtaza Bhutto's interview. Sheikh

Rashid Ahmed, federal minister for industries and culture, said that Al-Zulfiqar will be discussed during the next session of the National Assembly. This issue must be discussed in the National Assembly and should be discussed seriously and openly. They should not stop at some ceremonial discussions. The home minister especially should participate with full information and proof, if any, so that steps can be taken against this anti-national terrorist organization. As for the opposition party, the Pakistan People's Party, its attitude on this issue is no secret. The opposition will try to neutralize the whole proceedings by thumping on the desks and making noise. If this does not work, the PPP members will walk out of the Assembly house along with their leader. That is what has been happening until now.

The Bhutto ladies deny the existence of Al-Zulfiqar and accuse other people of all violent and instigatory activities in the country. Since Murtaza has blood relations with the Bhutto ladies, therefore, their denial of Al-Zulfiqar and its activities is understandable. What surprises us is that even government circles do not seem to be very serious about this affair. Only the late Jam Sadiq to his last breath remained true to his word about Al-Zulfiqar. However, a lot of people are not ready to accept these accusations and it is believed that the name Al-Zulfiqar is used in revenge just to give the PPP a bad name. Only the government knows what reports the intelligence agencies have filed. It appears that no government agency has tried to buy any headache about Al-Zulfiqar. Otherwise, some action about it would have been taken during Operation Cleanup in Sindh. This whole effort could not have been against an urban organization and one group. As for Sindh's government, all it is worried about is keeping its hold on power. It is utilizing all its energy for finding the leaders who are hiding and who can help Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah. We cannot expect the state government to take any action against Al-Zulfiqar during the present Operation Cleanup. Therefore, the federal government should not be indifferent toward Al-Zulfiqar. The government officials and leaders know that when this organization hijacked a PIA [Pakistan International Airlines Corporation] airplane, it succeeded in getting all its demands accepted even during the martial law regime. Therefore, it is possible that this organization, if given the opportunity, will force the government to accept any demands. We openly advise the Bhutto ladies that after this open admission by Murtaza Bhutto, they should publicly declare their dissociation with this terrorist organization. Nusrat Bhutto should stop repeating that Murtaza Bhutto will return to Pakistan. How long will this country shelter terrorists and traitors? It is time to choose between the nation and the son or brother!

Future of Democracy in Nation Seen Problematical

93AS0031E Karachi DAWN in English 22 Sep 92 p 13

[Article by Khalid Mahmud Arif: "The Murky Political Horizon"]

[Text] As a nation we strayed away from our moorings early and have since been in search of our national identity and ideals. Our feudal-dominated political class, excelling in intellectual poverty, debased democracy, violated the sanctity of the ballot and gave the country a personalised administration which was interrupted by three military interventions.

A fragile political structure, a potent military institution, the perennially powerful bureaucracy, and the semi-independent judiciary constitute the national base of power. For such a foursome it has been a daunting task to strengthen democratic institutions, reinforce democratic traditions and promote democratic values.

It is easy to be wise after the event and criticise the past leadership with the advantage of hindsight. Among others this job is eminently done by those critics and pseudo-intellectuals who arrogate to themselves the right to be the only champions of democracy in this country. Leafing through the old record one is amused to read some of their articles written in support of the past leadership which now frequently earns their ire for reasons not difficult to see through.

This is not to defend any person. No doubt our political pundits and military rulers made many errors, some very costly. While learning from their mistakes it may be prudent to leave history to the historian. The analysts can serve the country better if they criticise and guide those who are in a position to act and reply back. The pen-wielders need no telling that to use the crutches of the dead to score a point is neither fair nor chivalrous. And yet some of us seem to have lost the faculty of writing a piece without having a dig at the dead.

The frequent experimentation with the form of government has been the bane of Pakistan's troubled political life. It is not the intention here to discuss the merits and demerits of the parliamentary and the presidential systems of administration. A lot has been and can be said in support of or against both the forms. A national consensus exists in the country that the military rule is best avoided. The Ayub, Yahya and Zia experiences have shown that martial laws temporarily solve some problems and create others of a durable nature. It gives a chilly feeling to hear some political leaders every now and then advocating a military intervention again.

While some have expressed such views in undertones, a few others frequently paint a bleak future of democracy in private gatherings. Blaming the national political leadership for the lack of vision they feel that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] have failed to demonstrate the calibre and the political will to lead the country out of the prevailing impasse. To both these groups party considerations outweigh other interests. Notwithstanding such hurdles it would be unwise to seek a surgical solution of a medical problem. The political wounds need a political balm to heal not a surgeon's knife. We need patience to

let the political process develop and mature. The military plate is full with security problems which require undivided professional attention to handle. Besides the military has no magic wand to produce a rabbit out of a political hat.

Pakistan has had 23 years (1947-1958, 1972-1977, and 1985-1992) of the parliamentary form of government, seven years (1962-1969) of the presidential rule and fifteen years (1958-1962, 1969-1971, and 1977-1985) of the supra-constitutional administration. Political bankruptcy and military adventurism have created a sense of unease in the public minds. The inefficient and the corrupt political masters not only polluted the country but also resorted to extra constitutional measures.

The mini-martial laws in the early fifties and in 1977 were imposed by the elected governments. One can debate either way if the other three martial laws were clamped by the over-ambitious military brass or they were sucked into the national quagmire created by a bunch of unscrupulous politicians. Perhaps every one shares the blame in varying degrees. Politicians, generals, bureaucrats and judges have played their parts in creating the present-day conditions.

The plant of democracy can only flourish with the oxygen generated by political pluralism and the rights of dissent and free expression. The concept of a loyal opposition is irritating, if not foreign, to those wielding state power. Nor has the opposition behaved in a manner worthy of its recognised role. While professing to support the rule of law it demands the removal of the government without voting it out in the National Assembly. In doing so it seeks the support of those who have no presence in the parliament. The lovers of democracy fight their legal and political battles in courts and legislatures and not through street agitation.

Our feudal-dominated political system is run by demigods who have acquired power not through competence but due to the accidents of their birth—the father passing on the political baton to their own offspring. They consider assembly seats as their inherited property. These mighty landlords treat their tenants—uneducated, poor, simple, and unsuspecting—with contempt and terror. To them democracy is a one-way traffic, others should obey them. This vicious circle must be broken to let democracy flourish.

We have acquired the arrogance of issuing out certificates of patriotism and traitorship without a court verdict to suit the needs of our political expediency. Our parliamentarians elected by the party votes see nothing wrong in changing their political loyalties in search of greener pastures. The lust for easy money has eroded our moral fibre beyond measure. The biggest trade houses in the country today are narcotics, corruption and politics. Let the future look after itself is our naive approach to life.

All is not lost—yet. Given the will and prudence the decay can be corrected. Our experience with the evolution of the political system since 1985, despite its imperfections, provides ample hope. We must face the prevailing operating realities squarely. Follow the constitution should be our national approach. Our political parties in general and the two major ones, the Muslim League and the PPP in particular, should be democratised by holding in-house elections in them at all tiers of leadership. The process will strengthen their roots in the masses and groom future leadership.

Still rules are required against acts of floor crossing and horse trading. These ills have eroded political discipline beyond measure. The country has been facing a crisis of confidence since long. That the successive prime ministers have not been on speaking terms with the opposition is a matter of shame for both. Perhaps, a constitutional provision should make it binding to let the leader of the House and the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly meet at least once a month on the initiative of the prime minister. The failure to do so should be a gross violation of the Constitution. We may also establish a convention to invariably invite the leader of the opposition on the state banquets held in honour of the visiting heads of states.

With Balochistan simmering and Sindh in torture, our political leadership ought to see beyond the obvious and act in time to mend their fences. The military can handle the law and order situation. It must never be used to fight the political battles of any party. If for any reasons the government cannot take political initiatives in Sindh, it would be desirable to revert the army back to the barracks.

Prudence demands creating a healthy working relationship between the government and the opposition. Both will be held accountable if they fail the system. Far from being a child's play, governing a country is a serious adult business. It needs vision and maturity. History will not forgive our political pundits if they fail to rise to the occasion. The ball is squarely in their court.

Government Urged To Conduct Nuclear Weapons Test

93AS0007E Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Sep 92
p 3

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Nuclear Capability: Continue the Progress"]

[Text] On his arrival in Jakarta, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said in an interview that during the progress of its nuclear program, Pakistan had acquired the needed nuclear capability; nevertheless, Pakistan had decided to use its capability for peaceful purposes only; to abstain from building nuclear weapons, exploding nuclear devices and transferring sensitive nuclear technology to any other country. In regard to Pakistan's nuclear program, Nawaz Sharif reiterated what foreign secretary Shaharyar Khan had already said in New York. This

confirms the fact that Pakistan has accepted the admonition of the United States and especially of former U.S. Ambassador Oakley that Pakistan should not cross the "red signal." From the beginning of its nuclear program, Pakistan was victimized by the United States and the Hindu and Jewish lobbies; but no Pakistani Government, whether elected or non-elected, retreated in the face of this pressure and chose the nuclear option in order to preserve Pakistan's safety, integrity and defense. The nuclear program was essential to Pakistan because in 1974, India had exploded a nuclear device and thus forced Pakistan to step forward in the nuclear field in order to safeguard its existence and safety. India is many times superior to Pakistan in traditional weapons and armies and India is at the same time obsessed with its ambition of hegemony and imperialism. Pakistan has been the target of Indian aggression several times and as a consequence has suffered partition. Even if Pakistan were to spend all its budget on defense, it would still not have sufficient traditional weapons and men to defend itself against India; hence Pakistan decided to use nuclear power as a deterrent and its decision has undoubtedly brightened the prospects of peace on the subcontinent and discouraged India from perpetrating mischief on a small or large scale; this has also been the main reason why there has been no war since 1971 even though India has brought its armies to the borders several times. In 1965 when Pakistan had no nuclear capability, after the clash at the Ran of Kutch, India attacked Pakistan's international borders. Now that Pakistan has acquired nuclear capability, India has not dared to impose another war even though tension has existed in Siachin since 1984. This proves that Pakistan should continue with its nuclear progress so that India may not have the courage to carry out its nefarious schemes against Pakistan. The present government's decision to halt nuclear progress is not a good one and has undoubtedly been made under U.S. pressure. The United States has stopped economic and military aid to Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment and even refuses to supply spare parts for old machinery. Pakistani youth sent for training to the United States were sent back. The Pakistan Government has decided to halt the nuclear program at a certain level in the hope of having U.S. aid restored but so far there has been no news of such renewal. The fact is that the United States will never give Pakistan the kind of aid it gave because of the Afghan problem. The government should give thought to whether its decisions in the nuclear field made under U.S. pressure will endanger the country's defense and safety. We have voted in these columns in favor of the nuclear deterrent and even now our view is that our progress in the nuclear field alone can assure our country's safety and defense. The United States may realize this fact after a period of time and forgive Pakistan's transgression. It is the duty of the government to demonstrate its strength by exploding a nuclear device. We also support the peaceful use of nuclear energy but a nuclear explosion alone can assure such a peace. The government should review its policy.

Government Said Trying To Preserve MQM Continuity

93AS0028C Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 13 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by Tasawur Kiratpuri: "Government Trying for Patch Up Between MQM (Mohajir Qaumi Movement) Factions"]

[Text] The Sindh political situation, clean-up operation, campaign against crimes and criminals in rural areas and its outcome have been under discussion in the political, industrial and social circles here for the last few days. People endorsed government decision to call army in Sindh on the pretext that no other agency had so much power to launch campaign against the activists of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] in Sindh as MQM was in power and it had full grip on every department.

The people expressed satisfaction over the discovery of torture cells, sophisticated arms and ammunition and arrest of some notorious activists of MQM by the law enforcing agencies. They were of the view that the clean-up operation would bring peace to the most disturbed province of the country. But as the law enforcing agencies have concentrated on rural areas and interior of Sindh and operation against criminals in Karachi has been suspended despite severe charges against the underground MQM leaders, the people here doubt that the federal government has indirectly reconciled with the MQM leadership and now due to political needs the prime minister and the president do not want to take any action against these underground leaders.

According to the local leaders, Islamabad seems to be reluctant to take any action against MQM leaders and allow law enforcing agencies to continue their operation without any discrimination. Islamabad seems to be fearful that if the MQM leaders, in the light of reports pertaining to their crimes, are booked by the law enforcing agencies, the PPP [Pakistan People's party] will have a free hand to dominate the entire Sindh. The statements of some IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] leaders and federal ministers have been analysed in this perspective and considered to be an attempt by the government through its own men to normalise the situation.

The central president of Istiqlal Youth, Sajjad Dar, commenting on the situation in Sindh, said these days the MQM(H) had been silent for the last two weeks and none of their leaders had given any statement against Altaf Hussain or his group. This showed that the government was secretly trying for patch up between Altaf and Haqiqi group, he added. He alleged that President Ghulam Ishaq and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif were strictly working on the policy to smash PPP and other opposition parties as their creator, General Zia had made every effort to crush opposition forever.

Generally the government is under severe criticism by the local people who accuse President Ishaq and Nawaz Sharif of supporting a terrorist organisation which,

according to them is keen on establishing fifth province. The people question that why no criminal and terrorist was arrested when late Jam Sadiq Ali was the chief minister. The only reason was that MQM was a strong component party of IJI and the prime minister and the president were in the need of their cooperation to remain in power and to crush PPP in Sindh.

The traders, industrialists and politicians despite having alliance with the government and IJI while expressing disappointment over the prevailing uncertainty in every sphere of life, said that this was the main reason of increasing inflation and price-hike. A Muslim Leaguer who requested anonymity, said that he could not understand the political rivalry between PPP and the president and prime minister while the democratic norms did not allow anyone to adopt such undemocratic attitude.

The industrialists did not approve privatisation policy of the government. They are of the opinion that due to this wrong policy, the foreign trade has become much difficult in the presence of tough competition in foreign markets while in Pakistan without ascertaining the facts sympathetically, the rates of raw material, carriage, telephone and fax are being enhanced and new taxes being imposed.

They are of the view that if uncertainty among traders and industrialists institutions continued then the business would be badly affected.

A leading exporter, commenting on the situation, said that there was no seasoned politician in federal cabinet and the ministers and even the prime minister, due to lack of experience were adopting policies based on expectations and not based on factual position.

He said instead of giving incentives, there was shower of taxes as the government was at the brink of bankruptcy.

Complete restoration of peace in Sindh province depends upon the success of army's operation and if the government tried to create hurdles in this respect and damaged the reputation of the army, the present government will not be able to remain in power and has to face dire consequences.

MQM Claimed Highly Intolerant Towards Press *93AS0031F Karachi DAWN in English 17 Sep 92 p 13*

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "The MQM and the Press"]

[Text] The Press in Pakistan has a chequered history. Brief periods of freedom alternated with prolonged periods of direct or indirect suppression by government.

In a country where military rule and civilian authoritarianism have been more of a rule than an exception, the rulers sought to suppress the Press crudely in the hope of perpetuating themselves in office, although eventually such suppression did not, and could not, save them from the ultimate fate.

But what the Press did not anticipate was that as the official control over newspapers eased following the coming in of Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo as prime minister, some of the political parties would resort to coercive methods, intimidatory tactics and at times violent means to dictate the newspapers. That has been the tragic experience of the Press, particularly in Karachi as new political forces emerged on the scene.

While other political parties like the Jamaat-i-Islami with its militant students wing, the Jamiat-i-Tulaba and the Pakistan Muslim League with its Muslim Students Federation in Punjab, did employ such coercive methods against the Press in the past, it was the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] which carried it to the extremes in the 1990s.

Mr. Altaf Hussain in his statements from London now firmly denies his party had ever attacked the offices of any newspaper, and wonders why so much noise is being raised about the MQM's attitude towards the Press. He is sore that newspapers are publishing stories about the MQM's torture cells, although some editors had visited these places and found no signs of a torture cell.

But the MQM's intimidatory role in Sindh, or Karachi, is not something which the Press has to ascertain from others. It is too well aware of that because it has been its victim. Some of the individual pressmen who suffered MQM's wrath know that, and the newspapers which became targets of its attacks have been painfully aware of that since 1990. In 1991 such tactics reached their peak.

Major newspapers in Karachi were under pressure from the MQM elements not only not to publish news complimentary or unfavourable to MQM but also to publish the news that was favourable to it, and in the kind of great length they chose and give it the kind of display they demanded.

The pressure exerted on the JUNG and DAWN and the threats to the HERALD and NEWSLINE are too well known to become non-events or routine happenings now. The attacks on the weekly TAKBEER and threat to its editor Mr. Salahuddin, which made him to shift to Lahore briefly, are also a part of the recent Press history.

The JUNG incurred the wrath of MQM by publishing only two photographs of the marriage of Dr. Farooq Sattar, the then Mayor of Karachi, although he himself is a mild-mannered person. Bundles of the newspaper were destroyed as they came out of the press and they were prevented from reaching most of the readers. The attacks on DAWN by the MQM elements and their prolonged efforts to make the publishers and the editor do just what they wanted day after day is also well known.

The individual journalists were also victims of intimidatory telephone calls from MQM activists at their homes and offices. Sometimes by mistake the wrong person was called and given chilling treatment. The manner in which seven persons attacked Zafar Abbas of HERALD and BBC, and his brother and injured them seriously had

received wide publicity at that time. If that happened on March 17, 1991, armed men, about 15 in number, stormed the offices of TAKBEER, ransacked it and set it ablaze on March 22. It is one thing for the MQM to ask its followers not to read certain newspapers or magazines and quite another to hold out threats to them as Mr. Altaf Hussain did when he addressed a public meeting at the Defence Housing Society.

The right course for the MQM with its financial resources and organisational network was to bring out its own newspapers. Some feeble attempts were made in that direction but nothing substantial. And a few newspapers that the MQM supported could not really come off the ground, as their readers certainly wanted far more than mere party news or criticism of its political rivals.

The MQM pressure on the Press with its varied violent manifestations had reached its peak in March, 1991. It was then that the presidents of the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors [CPNE] and the All Pakistan Newspaper Society [APNS] went to the MQM headquarters at Azizabad along with their other office-bearers for a meeting with the Central Committee of the MQM at which Mr. Altaf Hussain too was present. After that meeting on March 22 a statement was issued by the two newspaper organisations saying they and the MQM had amicably resolved the misunderstandings. But did the MQM pressure on the newspapers cease after that "amicable settlement?" No.

In fact what happened was that following the MQM's tactics its political rivals in the interior of Sindh, too, began adopting the same kind of tactics to obtain the kind of favourable results they sought. Ten members of the Sindh National Front burnt English and Urdu dailies from Karachi at Larkana railway station on April 25, 1991. Sometime earlier the Jeay Sindh Student Federation (Progressive Wing) in Hyderabad had announced a boycott of JUNG for its pro-MQM policy and seized 70,000 copies of the newspaper and set them on fire.

All that made the Standing Committee of the CPNE come up with a resolution on November 13, 1990, appealing to all the political parties and elements in the country to reaffirm their commitments to freedom of the Press and refrain from attacks on newspapers. The committee asked the government for greater protection from such elements, and urged the government and the political parties to strengthen the democratic process and protect the freedom of the Press.

The APNS again stressed on May 6, 1991, that freedom of the Press was essential to safeguard democracy and both the political parties and the media have a mutual interest in upholding the present democratic system.

Striking indeed was the fact that while newspapers in Karachi would hardly print anything unfavourable to the MQM or do that at grave risks to themselves, the newspapers in Lahore and Islamabad, particularly the FRONTIER POST, the MUSLIM and the NATION felt free to print whatever they chose. The contrast between

the Karachi and upcountry newspapers was excessive in this regard, but most Karachi newspapers felt that discretion was the better part of valour because of the excessive pressure they were labouring under.

The tactics of political or student elements using threats to make newspaper do what they wanted was so much in vogue last year that even a small group of students from Baltistan in Karachi stormed into the offices of the daily AMN and ransacked its offices.

Mr. Altaf Hussain asks which political or religious party had not at one time or the other campaigned against a newspaper and cites instances of violence against the Press by different parties. Indisputably the workers of other parties like the Muslim League, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the Jamaat, and even student groups, had attacked newspapers in the past. But does one wrong by one party justify another wrong against the Press by another party, and with increasing vehemence or violence?

The MQM claims to be the party of the poor and the middle class. Such a party should be far more in favour of Press freedom and the freedom of the masses than parties led by feudal lords and tribal chiefs against whom Mr. Altaf Hussain speaks from time to time.

The fact is that the MQM committed mistakes, particularly in respect of its attitude towards the Press, and the pressmen know that too well. Any amount of denying from the top will not wash that away. And to assert that since some newspaper editors and owners had not seen signs of torture cells, therefore, they did not exist at all is wrong.

Mr. Azeem Tariq, chairman of MQM, admits the party did commit mistakes. He says that a political party should be run on democratic lines. "There should be accountability, and the leadership should openly accept criticism and rectify its faults."

He acknowledged that since 1985 the MQM had taken all major decisions with the consensus of the leaders, but "I feel that at certain times we ignored criticism." In fact the MQM tried to suppress that criticism and that is where it went wrong and alienated the Press altogether.

Mr. Altaf Hussain should be able to do some earnest reappraisal of his policies and practices and subject himself to some quiet self-criticism despite the provocations offered to him and his party in Karachi today by the armed forces and the civilian administration. While the kidnapping of the MQM legislators and former ministers to make them declare their support for the Muzaffar Shah government and some of the new tactics employed against the MQM are deplorable, these should not prevent the MQM leadership from re-examining its policies and strategies, admitting its mistakes as Mr. Azeem Tariq has done in his individual capacity, and re-building the party along pure democratic lines as the party of the poor and the middle class.

Widely Diverging Views of Sindh Operation Offered

Partial Success Claimed

93AS0066A Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
30 Sep 92 p 3

[Article by Adnan Adil: "Exploding the Myth of Altaf Bhai's Invincible Terror"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi—How has the army fared in over four months of 'operation clean-up' in the turbulent province of Sindh? Well, say army bosses. Not so, say many Karachiites. So far, the big fish haven't been netted and arms recovery is painfully lacking. Moreover, say people, we don't like the way the army is going about arresting people in a highly discriminatory manner.

According to the Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) department of the armed forces, till now 133 dacoits have been killed in the interior of Sindh while 357 have been apprehended. The army also claims to have arrested 83 patharidars and 2,385 suspected criminals linked to the dacoits. Two thousand fifty weapons have been recovered with 12,000 rounds of ammunition of all sorts. Of the 500 or so cars snatched away in the past, 151 have been recovered.

If these figures are correct, then there has certainly been some measure of success in the interior of Sindh. Before the army appeared on the scene, life in the countryside was totally paralysed. Traffic could not ply on the roads and highways without the escort of the Mehran Rangers. Travellers constantly feared of being looted or kidnapped by highway robbers. Night traffic had ceased. Farmers had given up farming in unsafe areas. People even stopped going to mosques for their evening prayers.

In many ways, life is livable again. The dreaded dacoits have been rounded up or have gone into hiding. "Many dacoits have taken refuge in other provinces and in Karachi. They are no longer operative," says an army official.

Apart from the Tando Bahawal incident early on which severely embarrassed the army and forced it to take action against the errant officer, no such incident has been reported subsequently. Now Sindhis say they have no grievances against the man in khaki. And life is safer and more productive in the protective shadow of the military.

But questions continue to be asked with increasing irritation. Why don't they arrest the big patharidars, people ask. The army's reponse is a grim, blank stare.

Everyone knows, however, why the army has balked at arresting the big crooks. First, Mr. Muzaffar Shah's government won't allow them to do so because it would collapse the day its supporters were picked up. Second, there is, unbelievably, no FIR [First Information Report] lodged as yet against these patharidars. Solid evidence against them is hard to come by because rural folk are

afraid to stand up as witnesses. The feudal grip over ordinary people remain strong. There is the apprehension that when the army goes back to its barracks, people will be left defenceless against the fury of the patharidars.

No wonder there is much resentment within army quarters about the army's helplessness in the face of these obstacles. The real fear is that the military may end up having to take the rap for the crimes of politicians.

The story in the cities is, however, different. On the face of it, the army seems to be reasonably satisfied with its operations. But reality may be otherwise. The Chairman of the Pakistan Muhajir Rabita Council, Mr. Nusrat Mirza, in Karachi says that "the operation here is only partially successful." There are two aspects to its failure. One, very few arms have been recovered from the cities. Two, the top brass of the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] terrorists hasn't been picked up.

The army responds by saying that it isn't easy to search for weapons in a large congested city like Karachi without stepping on thousands of innocent citizens during searches and interrogation. One army source says that for a whole month after May 19, the army had clear orders not to lay a hand on any MQM man because the government was under pressure to pass the budget in Islamabad. If the MQM had broken away at that time, the Nawaz Sharif government would have been in real trouble. During this crucial time, the MQM successfully dispersed its arms and ammunition and hid them in safe places. "How is it possible for us to search every house in the city," asks an army officer with visible frustration.

The same is true about those MQM thugs who've gone underground in a vast sea of people and keep moving about from one place to another. And what happens when the odd fish is hooked? "Every second judicial officer is amenable to having his palm greased and allowing bail," explains one officer angrily. According to one source, of 26 alleged criminals recently hauled up by the army, 17 were bailed out by the courts.

Karachiites also complain of the "favourable attitude of the army towards the MQM Haqeeqi group." Most people say that activists of the Haqeeqi group have also been involved in criminal and terrorist acts but to date they have not been apprehended by the army. Instead, "they are being patronised by the establishment."

What does the army have to say to that? "It's a tactical move to exploit the lesser evil to eliminate the bigger one," says one officer. Whatever be the merits of the army's tactics, its strategy has certainly succeeded in so far as the myth of Altaf Husain's invincible terror has been exploded. The man may still retain a large chunk of his vote bank but Karachi is free from his vicious grip for all times to come.

Seen Directionless

93AS0066B Karachi HERALD in English 15 Sep 92
pp 18-19

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "Marching in a Void"]

[Text] A truism that is not a principle of war but which deserves to be one could be stated as follows: don't keep marching in a void. This is a truism the army is in critical danger of forgetting as the clean-up operation in Sindh drags on without too much clarity about its ultimate objectives.

A few things that badly needed to be done, the army has done. The dacoit gangs roaming in the interior have been forced to flee or to go into hiding. As a result conditions in the interior are safer and more peaceful than they have been for years. In Karachi and Hyderabad the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) which had instituted a reign of terror the likes of which this country has never seen, has been brought to heel. Its leaders are in hiding from where, on their mobile phones, they are making plaintive appeals to the very journalists they used to treat with contempt. Their armed cadres are also on the run. Meanwhile from London, party supremo Altaf Hussain's voice sounds even more scratchy and strained. How the mighty are fallen—this hackneyed phrase applies fully to the MQM.

So far so good. But what is the army's game-plan, its ultimate objective? On that score there's not too much enlightenment, neither from army high-ups, who can be quite verbose when they want to, nor from the federal government which is in the enviable position of not losing anything should the operation succeed or fail. If it succeeds it will claim some of the kudos for itself. If it fails it will not mind seeing the army eat some humble pie.

Two overriding factors underline the sense of drift which is increasingly coming to characterise this operation. First is the state of the MQM. While the organisation is on the run, there has been a backlash in its favour since the operation began transforming it from a zaalim into a mazloom. Surely this was not what the army intended. If it is being hailed as a saviour in the interior, in Karachi and Hyderabad feelings against the army are running high.

To a large extent this is a paranoid reaction. The army has shot no one in the cities nor is it running any concentration camps. If anything, its tactics have been more roughshod in some parts of the interior where there is no one to protest whatever it does. But the mohajir community, more educated and cultured than most others, has a highly developed ability to paint minor setbacks and tragedies in the most emotive colours. To hear some mohajirs speak is to get the distinct impression that the army is committing real atrocities on the mohajir population.

The second factor characteristic of the present situation is the political paralysis afflicting the province of Sindh. Over 20 members of the provincial assembly have resigned. Only half the resignations have been accepted while action on the remainder, like all file-work in the country, is "pending." The faintest allusion to the necessity of holding by-elections to fill the vacated seats fills everyone in a position of authority in Sindh with dismay, for the sound reason that they have a fair idea of where those by-elections will lead. So without the faintest idea of what to do, the authorities, which include the army, just seem to be hoping that things will turn out right, that the thick clouds of confusion and drift lining the horizon will somehow pass.

None of this would be a problem if the army could keep its jawans posted on the streets of Karachi forever. But even the most dim-witted man in khaki would know that such operations cannot be open-ended. The longer they last, the messier they get. But one necessary pre-requisite of brevity is concision. And that precisely is the problem with this operation. There is no clarity of what its precise objectives are.

In the interior, the operation, after scoring some impressive initial successes, has stalled with the Sindh government unwilling to go along with any move against the influential landlords or politicians who are said to have dacoit connections, and whose names figure on the list reportedly provided by the army to the federal government. There has also been no action against Irfanullah Marwat accused of various hair-raising crimes.

In this regard the army keeps complaining that it is not being given the authority which would enable it to widen the scope of its operation. But three months after the operation started, this is beginning to sound like a tired refrain. When the drums of this operation were being beaten the army should have known what it was getting into and, as an organisation whose political skills should have been honed over time, it should also have known the constraints it would be facing.

If the army has decided to keep Muzaffar Hussain Shah in the chief minister's office, it follows that there would be political resistance from him to the idea of any action against influential figures who are part of his government. The same analogy applies to Irfanullah Marwat. It is all very well for secret agencies of one sort or another to leak reports to the press about his putative misdeeds. But as long as Ghulam Ishaq Khan is safe in the presidency, it stands to reason that he would resist the idea of any action against Marwat. After all, in a society like ours, what are fathers-in-law for? Strictly from the viewpoint of logic, these tangles are unlikely to be resolved unless the army seizes power for itself—a course fraught with the grimmest consequences.

As for the MQM, the army has not been able to indicate whether it is only against the party's armed wing and those of its leaders implicated in criminal activities, or whether it is all out to destroy the MQM as a political

force. There is nothing wrong with the first objective. In fact, if various organs of the state had not looked at the MQM through partisan eyes, to further their own narrow interests of containing the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], serious notice of the violent tendency within the MQM should have been taken long ago. But the army has no business plunging into the murky waters of the second objective. It is not for it to say who the sober elements in the MQM are and who the inebriated. If the army's idea of sobriety is conveyed by the likes of the MQM Haqiqi leaders, who earned their spurs in the MQM's school of violence, then there is obviously something wrong with it.

Therefore, the sooner the army is able to draw a distinction between the MQM leadership and the MQM's mass following, the quicker will Sindh's political paralysis come to an end. Whatever the army does, the MQM, on present reckoning, will remain the dominant political force in Karachi and Hyderabad. Halfway through what was meant to be a six-month operation, it is time this realisation started sinking in.

Editorial Calls for Overhaul of Sindh Police Force

93AS0031H Karachi DAWN in English 18 Sep 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Better, Not More"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Inspector General of Police, Sindh, has said that the Sindh police force will be expanded over the next few years. According to him, in the next two years, about 10,500 new recruits will be added to the present 70,531-man police force and the process will be carried on to raise the strength to 127,572 over a period of five years. The short-term aspect of the five-year expansion plan also envisages the setting up of 104 new police stations in the province as well as 74 new checkposts in Sindh's riverine and hilly areas which provide the main hideouts for the dacoits and other anti-social elements. A numerical increase in the size of the police force may be unexceptionable, considering the rapid population increases in the province and an alarming rise in organised crime in the recent years. But if the RS [Rupees] 920-million expansion programme is also intended to reassure the public as to the prospect of improved law and order in this troubled province, the reaction can only be sceptical. For the problem here is not so much of a shortage of police personnel as of a poor standard of performance.

A qualitative change is the only way the police can regain the lost trust and confidence of the public as an institution of law enforcement. The IG [Inspector General] must understand that the police force is answerable to the general public whom it has failed over and over again. As far as the people are concerned, repeated experience, not cynicism, has forced them to conclude that the motivation of the police has been gravely dis-orientated. Inevitably, this expresses itself in the form of a warped view and understanding of their duty.

Sindh's police force does not enforce law and order as it is commonly understood. It acts according to its whims and caprices. The law is not upheld, it is used as an instrument of coercion or extortion. The failure of the police in Sindh is seen not just in the proliferation of crime—in the dacoities, rapes, murders, kidnappings, car thefts, abductions, burglaries and vandalism that have nearly destroyed the citizens' sense of security wherever they are—in their homes, on the streets or at workplaces. It is, above all else, a moral failure. The truth is that instead of fighting crime, many of them are themselves involved in criminal acts as perpetrators, abettors and collaborators.

The unmitigated sadism of the police claims lives in police custody or maims the victims of their savage fury. The public knows of many such cases. But do they know of any case where such a grievous crimes have incurred for the perpetrators the kind of punishment that the law prescribes? Investigations are generally tardy and half-hearted and have little to do with modern criminological methods and practices. The Sindh High Court has just heard several petitions alleging illegal arrests. Adding numbers to the police force in such circumstances does not hold out much hope of improvement. It could even mean adding to the common man's woes. The political misuse of the police by successive administrations is part of the problem. This plus pervasive corruption in their ranks have made the police outfit incompetent, oppressive and wholly indifferent to their basic duties. The current army-led Operation Clean-up in Sindh might not have been necessary if the police had done their duties reasonably well in the prevention and control of crime.

The rank and file of the police force have been habituated to pursuing and promoting their superiors' interests and carrying out their orders without any qualms, and often in disregard of the dictates of law. The result has been to make them feel that they are a law unto themselves and behave that way in their dealings with the public. The ordinary citizen may escape the police station torture, or the brutish uncalled-for violence of a lathi-charge on a peaceful demonstration, but he is a real or potential victim of the arrogance, high-handedness and rapacity of the police all the same. The imposition of a traffic fine or the remission of one, the privilege to park, the hawkers' right to vend his wares, the clearance for passports, the filing of a report are all ordeals and often an exercise in futility or a lesson in the fine art of pay-as-you-go. It is folly to think of approaching the police for assistance or relief in the ordinary course, unless you are ready to pay for such services, or can go straight to a police high-up who can help you in the matter.

A reorientation of police set-up according to the norms of public service is called for right at the top, so that it filters through the entire structure down to the lowest rung. Only then can well-meant steps like strengthening numbers, providing more check-posts, improving mobility and weaponry and so on can produce the desired results. And before the taxpayer pays for all

these, it would be wise to review the police code and procedural rules and regulations and, more particularly, the operational aspects. The present working pattern is largely the colonial legacy. The police academy too could do with a better syllabus: training principles are outdated. In fact, a reappraisal of the entire organisational norms and structure is imperative in order that the present set-up can be gradually recast according to the norms and values of an independent country, with accent on efficient and honest performance in the domain of crime control.

Bihari Repatriation Feared Incitement to Violence

*93AS0028D Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 10 Sep 92 pp 10-11*

[Article by Ahmad Bashir: "Kacha Lands, Haris and Biharis"; quotation marks as published]

Text] According to daily PAKISTAN report, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said at Karachi after a tour of the rain-affected areas of Sindh that kacha lands, under illegal possession of local landlords, should be allotted to the Biharis coming from Bangladesh. This is a horrendous proposition and will stoke a fire in Sindh. Other newspapers have not mentioned the Biharis. THE FRONTIER POST correspondent said that the kacha lands of Sindh would be retrieved and distributed among the haris. Which haris? Haris means a ploughman, whether he is a Bihari or a Sindhi.

Said a Sindhi friend to me recently, that the Sindhis think that the kacha lands may be distributed among tillers from the Punjab. There are all sorts of speculations. The Punjabis want no part of Sindhi lands. The Biharis are not entitled to them. The Sindhis resent their influx. The Seraikis are disturbed over their settlement in their areas.

Voices are being heard in the Central Punjab against their coming. Balochistan and the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] are not likely to be affected. So they are not bothered. Only the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] is happy over Biharis' arrival, hoping that ultimately, they will migrate to Karachi and swell the ranks of the Urdu-speaking MQM. That will be to the detriment of Sindh, where numbers count. The kacha belongs to the Sindhi hari who has lived without a piece of land since civilisation began. The allotment of these lands to the Biharis will deepen their sense of deprivation. It is to be hoped that the daily PAKISTAN report is not correct. The government of Pakistan should issue a policy statement.

General Asif Nawaz was the author of the idea of distributing the kacha lands to the haris. It was part of his package deal. He recommended a political solution of the Sindh problem. The government of Pakistan did not react to his proposal. If the daily PAKISTAN report is correct, the Sindhis are in for further injustice. But they are not likely to take it sitting down. The situation is already volatile. There will be an unaffordable flare-up.

It is not only kacha lands of Sindh, which should be retrieved and distributed among the haris. All lands all over Pakistan should be taken away from big landlords and parcelled out to the landless of all areas. That will put Pakistan on the road to progress. Our economic layout will improve, our cultural landscape will change for the better, and our politics will have a happier playground. Production will increase. Distribution will be just and fair. The government will be richer. Most problems will disappear. But legislation to that effect will not be possible in a house dominated by waderas and clerics.

For Pakistan, the abolition of feudalism will be a revolution. The nation is not yet ready for it. It requires a people's struggle. We will have to learn from the history of the Europe of the 18th and the 19th centuries. That, unfortunately, is the only route available to the wretched of the earth of Pakistan and of the Third World's feudal-monarchical societies. That is what is holding us down in all walks of life.

The prime minister made some important points in his statement. He said that he was not happy with the way the Sindh operation was progressing. Nor are the Mohajirs of the MQM happy. They say that the operation is directed against them. Writes a correspondent from Dokri that "the operation has been launched/started against the Sindhis."

According to another report, serious doubts have cropped up in the minds of Sindhi intellectuals and general public about the impartiality and evenhandedness of the military operation. It is most confined to rural Sindh.

In urban centres, Karachi for instance, it is cosmetic in nature as well as in quantum. Reports regarding the killing and arrests of criminals and dacoits are pouring in regularly, but from the urban centres of Sindh no major terrorist has so far been touched. And yet there is hue and cry in Karachi that the MQM is being victimised. The press is waging a psychological war. Actually, the operation in Karachi is only 'nura kushti'. Many Sindhi suspects have been killed while in police custody and nine innocent villagers were shot and killed in the village Tando Bahawal. No terrorist has met that fate. Entire leadership of the MQM has gone underground. They are in contact with the press, hold meetings, and organise rallies. But intelligence agencies have no clue of their whereabouts. Who is going to believe that?

The fact is that the armed forces, in charge of the operation, are politically leashed. Corps commander of Karachi Lt. General Nasir Akhtar has said the same thing in an interview with the BBC. He said that if the hands of the army were a bit freer, it would be able to arrest all those who were suspected of criminal acts as well as politicians harbouring the criminals. Several criminals are free, with their weapons concealed. The situation needs improvement.

The general's statement was rebuttal to the statement of the prime minister to the effect that the operation was not to his satisfaction. He seemed to blame the armed forces for its slow pace, indicating that he would like the action against the dacoits and terrorists to be more effective. He said that the problem of Sindh arose from its professional politicians. The people of Sindh would do well to get rid of politician, whose speciality was palace intrigues. The agencies have prepared a list of suspects, which has so far not been officially made public. The prime minister ordered its publication.

The chief minister of Sindh, Muzaffar Hussain Shah, is now in trouble. According to press reports, the list includes the names of at least four Sindh provincial ministers and many other influentials. The Sindh government party has lost its majority with the resignations of MQM members of the assembly. If four of his ministers and other political influentials are taken in custody, Muzaffar Shah's government will collapse. He will also lose his wadera prestige.

If the list is published, the armed forces who are operating under the control of a committee, presided over by the Sindh chief minister, will have to arrest them. That was the impediment Lt. General in charge was complaining of that the army does not have a free hand.

The government of Mian Nawaz Sharif has two minds. It wants some kind of arrangement with the MQM on the one hand, and on the other, wants the operation to be more effective. His advisers and ministers are talking to the MQM representatives. By nabbing the party's leadership, he does not want to spoil the atmosphere. Solutions are being worked out.

It is possible that the MQM drops out Altaf Hussain for the time being. He is not likely to come back home anyway, because a number of FIRs [First Information Report] have been registered against him. It is also possible that some other top leaders, Salim Shehzad, Safdar Baqri, Javed Langra, and Ashfaq Chief, for instance, are also sacrificed and abandoned in the party's larger interests. They were reportedly involved in tortures, kidnapping and other violent crimes. They could be asked to surrender. That would give the MQM a relatively clean chit.

The party can then come out in the open and move about freely in its constituencies. Mian Nawaz Sharif's government will also have its face saved. The armed forces will have satisfaction. The Mohajirs, victimised and tortured by the MQM, will be obliged. That may enable the MQM of Altaf Hussain and MQM Haqeeqi to unite in the name of Mohajir rights.

Azim Tariq, who is being wooed by Aamer and Afaq, may under the directive of Altaf Hussain, agree to take charge of the United MQM as chairman. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] will be happy over the development. Karachi will be saved for it. It may also create a better situation for Altaf Hussain in time. The MQM can emerge as a political force again. It will probably revise

its political manifesto to be acceptable. General Mirza Aslam Beg is likely to lead it as and when he can. That will change its complexion and bring maturity to it. But it will continue to operate in the name of Mohajir rights, even if it transforms itself into Mutahida Qaumi Movement.

Will the MQM resolve its contradiction with the Sindhis? Probably, not. The repatriation of the Biharis will become a festering sore in the politics of Sindh. Competition for jobs will harden. The ethnic divide will widen. New and unsavory contradictions will raise their head. Sindh will continue to bleed.

The IJI is short-sighted. It is preparing for the repatriation of the Biharis, hoping to benefit from the inflated vote bank of the MQM in elections. Little does it realise that it has no future. Events are moving fast. The status quo is under threat. It cannot lead the nation into the 21st century. But our conventional politicians know it not. They are working for temporary gains.

Ethnic Divide Seen Aggravating Balochistan Politics

93AS0031D Karachi DAWN in English 26 Sep 92 p 11

[Article by Mazdak: "Musical Chairs in Balochistan"]

[Text] After weeks of wrangling, who will be the Chief Minister of Balochistan? Jamali or Magsi? Who knows? And more to the point, who cares. To the people of that backward, benighted province, it matters not a jot which particular tribal sardar occupies the chief minister's house, and it matters even less to the rest of us.

Given the choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, the nation is not exactly riveted to the horse-race in Quetta, particularly in view of the pathetic condition of the nags trying to nose past each other at the finishing line.

In fact, the only people—apart from the contenders themselves—to whom the outcome of the tawdry power struggle matters are the power-brokers in Islamabad. And their reasons have nothing to do with the welfare of the people of Balochistan. Rather, they are motivated in their patch-up efforts by cynical considerations of keeping their shaky coalition intact in Quetta, for if it unravels, who knows how far the contagion might spread.

For his part, Jamali has done everything possible to plug the leaks in his sinking boat: around two-thirds of the members of the provincial assembly were earlier given ministerial portfolios. In the recent, aborted cabinet reshuffle, Zehri, the man named to take over the Home Department, is supposed to have 37 police FIRs [First Information Report] against him. Presumably, the Chief Minister was acting on the principle of "set a thief to catch a thief," except that in this case, most of the FIRs are for murder. It says something for the grip Jamali has on power that the reshuffle fizzled out because the

ministers simply refused to relinquish their respective portfolios. Not that it would have mattered whose tribal posterior was occupying which particular chair.

Balochistan's Byzantine politics is exacerbated by the Baloch-Pakhtun divide, and nowhere is this fault line more apparent than in Quetta, where the railway crossing delineates the respective areas of the two communities: south of the track is the almost exclusive Baloch zone, while north of it is largely Pathan (local and Afghan) territory. Similarly, the areas north and west of Quetta are largely populated by Pashtuns while Baloch tribes inhabit the vast southern portions of the province.

This ethnic divide is also reflected in the social, economic and political development of Balochistan. The Balochi tribes cling more fiercely to tradition, and their sardars wield proportionately greater power. As a consequence of this blind loyalty to the tribe, tribesmen (but not tribeswomen, who are simply not allowed to vote) consistently vote their chieftain to assemblies, irrespective of their performance during their last stint. This attitude ensures that lineage, not merit, is rewarded.

The other side of the tribal coin is that there is a positive disincentive for sardars to allow development activities in their areas because the spread of education and prosperity would undercut their own power base. Thus, development funds allocated by the provincial and federal governments are all too often diverted towards buying more guns and Pajeros for the chiefs who will send their own sons to study in Lahore and London, but will not permit schools for their ignorant followers to open.

In the Pashtun areas, tribalism is still alive and well, but in a far less rigid form. Sardars do not have the same power of life or death over their followers, and indeed, tribes are much more geographically dispersed so that elected representatives from these areas owe less to tribal backing than do their Baloch counterparts. As a result, they have to work much harder to get re-elected. The difference between Pashtun and Baloch tribalism is somewhat analogous to the difference between Punjabi and Sindhi feudalism: the former is a weaker, more diluted version of an outdated stage of socio-economic development.

These differences in perceptions and attitudes are very visible in the uneven pace of development in the province. Release from the deadening constraints of tribal shackles, Pashtun farmers and traders are industrious and innovative. Indeed, in many cases, traders is a polite word for smugglers. But electricity, tube-wells and schools are all very apparent even to an outsider who is just driving through the countryside. The vast emptiness of the Baloch areas does not reveal such relative prosperity, excepting in the irrigated areas near the border with Sindh.

Gradually, this uneven development is likely to cause a confrontation between the two communities. Already, there have been a series of clashes in Quetta, and if these

contradictions are not addressed and resolved, we may well see a long, bloody conflict in the not-too-distant future. Equally clearly, neither Jamali or Magsi has the vision or credibility to even make a start.

But to be fair to them, in the past, far more powerful men than them have chosen to ignore the economic and demographic changes taking place in their province. Although the population is now thought to be roughly equally divided, the balance of power is still tilted in favour of the Baloch owing to the delimitation of constituencies. Pressure is building to redress this perceived inequity, and the presence of enormous arsenals of sophisticated weapons is not a very reassuring element in this complex equation.

As long as tribal chiefs continue to wield arbitrary, unchecked power owing to an accident of birth, development in their areas will be limited to their personal estates. And their firm hold over their tribes will ensure the election of incompetent and venal politicians who have no desire to improve the lot of their constituents.

None of this is to suggest that elections in other parts of the country do not also send mediocre and dishonest representatives to the assemblies. But there is a difference of scale involved here: according to a senior (Punjabi) civil servant serving in Quetta, if half the development funds in the other provinces are split between contractors, politicians and bureaucrats, at least half the money is spent on its intended purpose; in Baloch tribal areas, by contrast, all the development funds are pocketed by crooked politicians, businessmen and provincial government officials.

So what is really needed is nothing short of a wholesale abolition of the power and prerogatives tribal sardars enjoy. And who's going to do it? Sardar Jamali or Sardar Magsi?

Balochistan Government Facing Dissolution

93AS0028E Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 10 Sep 92 pp 1-2

[From Amanullah]

[Text] Quetta—First crack appeared in Balochistan government on Wednesday as the major coalition party—Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) ministers tendered their resignations to the provincial governor. However, the speaker of the provincial assembly Malik Sikandar Khan, will continue his job till Jamali government moves a no-confidence motion against him (speaker).

Addressing a press conference in MPA [member of Provincial Assembly] hostel here on Wednesday, Maulana Muhammad Khan Sherani, parliamentary leader of JUI in National Assembly and provincial amir of the party, warned that when sugar crosses the required limit in the body then it causes death adding that Mir Taj Muhammad Jamali, the chief minister had become too sweet which had made it impossible for JUI to remain in

coalition. He said the chief minister totally ignored the irregularities committed by cabinet members.

Maulana Sherani declared that JUI had launched mass contact campaign throughout the province which would culminate in a big public meeting in Quetta on October 30 to take people into confidence. He clarified that they had not ruled out a no-confidence motion in collaboration with other members in assembly against the chief minister.

He said that although they would play opposition's role in the assembly but would sit on independent benches. He, while rejecting the rumours that JUI was quitting the government because [word indistinct] Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) joined it, said that it would be good sign if PMAP and PNP [Pakistan National Party] sit together and resolve the Pukhtoon-Baloch issue.

About cooperation with Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) in the assembly. Maulana Sherani said that doors were open for all political parties. He alleged that on following points differences surfaced between JUI and the chief minister: (1) massive irregularities committed in appointments in government services by-passing the public service commission and relaxation in age and qualification without any proper procedure, (2) allotment of land on nominal prices adding that inquiry committee recommendations on the land scandal were rejected, (3) several advisers were appointed and when JUI raised the objection against it, the chief minister paid no heed and (4) the departments should not be divided for the sake of accommodating the army of ministers.

Maulana Sherani announced that the chief minister also violated the agreement reached with JUI. Giving example, he said the chief minister was bound under the accord that any reshuffle in the portfolios of ministers would be made after consulting all. But Mir Jamali took the reshuffle decision unilaterally, therefore, it was not possible for JUI to accept the illegal action of the chief minister. The provincial amir of JUI further said that his party as a coalition partner played major role in promoting peace between Pukhtoons and Balochs following the bloody clashes last year. Similarly it was JUI ministers who solved the complicated issue of allotment of hostel rooms in university.

Maulana Sherani reiterated that JUI joined the coalition government to serve the people according to the teaching of Islam but if they could not accomplish this sacred task then there was no need for it to remain in power. He said that about 23 assembly members started a systematic campaign a few weeks back for ousting JUI ministers thereafter Mir Jamali paid little attention to the implementation of the accord with JUI.

Maulana Sherani reminded that it was JUI which made Mir Jamali chief minister as the central leadership of IJI including Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was not in favour of Mir Jamali.

Speaker Malik Sikandar Khan along with outgoing ministers Maulvi Bari, Maulvi Dotani, Maulvi Asmatullah and Maulvi Amir Zaman were also present on the occasion.

Government Said To Fail in Flood Control Management

93AS0028A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 15 Sep 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Accounting the Flood Damage"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has announced a relief package for the flood-affecteds, which includes: an allocation of Rs [Rupees] 1 billion from the Zakat Fund and Rs. 250 million from the Baitul Mal for the minorities; Rs. 50,000 to a family whose bread-winner has died and Rs. 20,000 for every deceased of a family; postponement of payment of agricultural loans for one year in the flood-affected areas and waiving of mark-up on agricultural loans up to Rs. 20,000; and loans for seeds, fertilizers, etc., for the rabbi crop. Followed by havoc inflicted by rain in Sindh, Punjab and the Northern Areas, floods are taking their incalculable toll. According to initial estimates, over 100,000 villages have been either inundated or submerged by the floods and standing crops over an area of about 1.4 million acres have been destroyed. So far, rice over an area of 400,000 acres, cotton over 900,000 acres, sugarcane in an area of 90,000 acres, 50,000 acres of maize and 25,000 acres of vegetables have been destroyed. When the floods complete their course of destruction, the estimate of losses may perhaps, surpass all the previous records. The losses to the poor man's dwellings, flocks, and their food reservoirs, will remain unaccounted as has been the case in the past. The miseries of the rural poor will be further exacerbated by epidemics and other diseases.

The trend in the rising prices of lentils, vegetables, wheat and other essential consumer goods indicates that the worst is still to come in the months ahead. With the loss of all crops in the flood-affected areas, especially cotton, rice, vegetables and wheat reservoirs, the economy is going to suffer a disaster greater than observed in 1983, when a bad crop caused balance of payments crisis. The exports, about 90 percent of which is agro-related, will at least fall by 30 percent and, consequently, trade deficit will jump to around 60 percent of our exports, and an increased bill of imports on account of wheat, cotton, vegetables and lentils will add, at least, 20 percent to this deficit. An already depleted Annual Development Programme [ADP] would require additional resources for the rehabilitation and reconstruction works. However, the real picture will emerge by the end of the current financial year when the budget deficit may become equal to our revenues. The economic crunch, in turn, may cause political turmoil. Although floods and other natural calamities are unavoidable, their damage can be minimised. Had the gates of Mangla Dam, for instance, not opened without warning, 400 innocent persons could have been saved. Similarly, had the government taken

necessary advance measures after having recorded torrential rains, the floods would have been managed.

Government Neglect Blamed for Widespread Flood Damage

Meaningless Posturing

93AS0063A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
30 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Abbas Rashid: "Coping With the Flood"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The floods this time are being termed the worst in Pakistan's history. Sindh is now going through its second bout, in recent weeks, of struggling against the flood waters having already experienced some loss of life and immense damage to crops, livestock and property due to heavy rains. In the Northern Areas, NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] the flood has left havoc in its wake. In Punjab between 16 to 20 districts have been badly affected. The death toll is estimated to be over 1,000 while hundreds of thousands have been rendered homeless. Thousands of villages across the Punjab are now little more than scattered heaps of rubble. In some villages people have no idea how they are going to get through the winter with most if not all of their crops of rice, cotton, etc., destroyed by the flood waters. In the case of cotton the damage is estimated to be nearly 20 per cent of the entire crop.

To the extent that the floods were a direct consequence of the heavy rains in the catchment areas of the Rivers Chenab and Jehlum in particular, it can be termed a natural disaster. But this does not in any way absolve those responsible for grave lapses in handling the situation. The most outrageous one being the decision on September 10 to open the spillways of Mangla Dam abruptly when the water level in the reservoir had risen to 1207.7 ft. For a number of hours nearly a million cusecs of water were discharged creating something akin to a tidal wave that threatened to engulf Jehlum city and the surrounding villages. As always the villages were made to bear the brunt of the furious waters. Just in the environs more than two hundred people died while many others saw virtually all their worldly possessions swept away.

A committee appointed by the Prime Minister, headed by Minister for Water and Power Jam Mohammad Yusuf, is reported to have recommended action against the Resident Engineer Mangla for the decision to hold up incoming water and then release it in one massive wave that contributed significantly to the extensive loss of life and property downstream. Once again this seems to be an exercise in looking for convenient scapegoats without anyone in the upper levels of decision-making willing to take responsibility for the massive and costly blunder.

The water from the Mangla reservoir could have been released gradually starting at least a day or two earlier.

The heavy rains in the catchment areas since September 7 should have been enough to put all the concerned authorities, including the highest on alert. But such, as we have learnt to our loss, was not the case. For one thing there was very little coordination, among, for instance, the Pakistan Meteorological Department that forecast heavy rains, the cell in WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] House, Lahore, responsible for keeping track of the water level in all major dams, the authorities in Islamabad who have a say in major decisions and on the spot officers responsible such as the Resident Engineer. The army which would have had to be called upon to play a major role in making arrangements to minimise flood damage also claims that it was not informed in time. Corps Commander Lt.-Gen Khalid Latif and GOC [General Officer Commanding] Jehlum have reportedly refuted the WAPDA authorities assertion that they had informed the Corps Commander in advance on September 8 about the rising water level in Mangla Lake. They contend that the signal was received from WAPDA on the 9th regarding the rise in water level but there was no mention in it about the volume of water that would be released. According to the Deputy Commissioner, water had started entering Jehlum by late evening on September 9. But he has reportedly claimed the WAPDA authorities at Mangla were not in contact with him after 3 pm on that day. Regardless of who is eventually found to have been at fault the point is that this was a far from coordinated effort in terms of anticipating the crisis and taking the necessary measures to minimise the loss caused by the flood.

The rushing waters cut a swathe of death and destruction across the Punjab. If there is a Standard Operating Procedure to deal with such emergencies not many showed signs of being aware of it. For instance, Irrigation authorities vacillated on the issue of which protective bunds to breach as a result of pressure from different quarters interested in, more than anything else, saving their crops and land. Thus allowing the water pressure to build up and compounding the misery of the villagers who had to face the fury of the water when the bund was eventually breached. There were differences on the issue at the local level between the civilian and army authorities at Sher Shah bund as well as in some other cases reported.

Meanwhile, one of the worst natural disasters in Pakistan's history could not deter the Prime Minister from taking off soon after to perform Umra along with his family. That having been accomplished he seems to have spent the better part of his time in what seems to be a particularly unsavoury brand of 'disaster politicking', hopping from one island of misery to the other telling people essentially that they will always find him by their side at such times. How this will help them with the almost overpowering task of rebuilding their shattered lives we do not know. Considering that in more than one place people have responded to visits by the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister Punjab Ghulam Haider Wyne, with slogans of protest would indicate that they

are not entirely reassured. But, meanwhile, the two have managed along with the Prime Minister's brother Shahbaz Sharif to increase their presence manifold on the television screen.

The relief effort adequate in some though by no means all areas—especially those inaccessible by road—continues to be hampered by a lack of coordination as well as reliable information regarding the losses in terms of lives, crops, livestock and dwellings. Official figures from various sources regarding the dead, for instance, are much lower than unofficial estimates but also do not tally. On September 21 a newspaper report quoted Additional Secretary Afzal Kahut who is involved with the government's damage assessment and flood relief efforts, as having said that 197 people have died as a result of the floods in Punjab. Another report on September 14 citing preliminary official figures put the death toll at 283. However, on September 26 Mr. Wyne, the Chief Minister of the province was cited by a paper as having said that in all 80 to 100 people had died in the province as a result of the floods. While making this disclosure he is reported to have added, helpfully, that the Prime Minister had been on the hop constantly during the floods and further that there are no examples of such visits by any head of government during national calamities.

The disaster, too, has not kept the government from indulging in meaningless posturing. With the economy in shambles and virtually half the population affected by the floods the President and the Prime Minister felt obliged to make high-sounding declarations about how even in these dire straits Pakistan was going to stick to its philosophy of self-reliance. While to them it may have seemed the 'politically correct' thing to say it sounded patently ridiculous if not downright callous given the context. The whole thing became even more absurd when it was followed up by a government document circulated to brief foreign governments about the extent of the disaster. Assistance was not to be asked for but would not be refused. While the government is thinking up these convoluted ways of getting badly needed assistance the concern with immediate relief is now giving way in most areas of Punjab to the daunting task of rehabilitation. In the villages which have been the most severely affected the houses have to be rebuilt but even the relatively small amount of cash needed to put together the mostly 'katcha' dwellings is not available; the crop as well as livestock in many cases has been almost completely destroyed; in some cases land has been left unfit for immediate cultivation and in others there is no money for seeds. To make matters worse the informal cooperative arrangements that work at the village level in terms of helping out with loans, etc., have been reduced to a bare minimum as almost everyone has been severely affected. Rescue and relief work carried out by the army as well as some concerned government agencies has helped but is far from adequate given the enormity of the disaster. Similarly, the tremendous effort put in by private organisations such as the Edhi

Foundation in some areas still leaves hundreds of thousands of those affected by the floods without any cover. Among other things there is a need for far greater coordination between the relief and rehabilitation efforts of private organisations and individuals and the government infrastructure in place at the local level if such efforts are to be made more effective.

The urgency of such efforts is underlined by the situation, for instance, of the residents of some of the villages in Bhalwal which had been flooded by the River Jehlum such as Jhugian Khokran and Gaga. I visited the area along with a friend, who had mobilised the resources of his company Syed Engineers to initiate a relief and rehabilitation programme over a small but badly affected area. Most people had not heeded the warning to leave the area in their experience floods had never meant so much water and apart from the inadequate time provided for leaving the area they did not perceive any real danger. In the event many stayed up on trees for two days without food or water. The flood waters went up to six feet, the mark clearly delineated by the muddy residue left on trees by the receding waters. Food was now available, albeit in scarce quantities, with the road having become accessible. A government employee who had taken leave from his department had organised his own relief effort and was busy distributing packets of basic necessities such as ghee, atta, matches, etc. A long queue had formed for the doctor who had been sent along with some essential medicines, apparently by the Noon Group. So, some help was getting through. But there was a great shortage of cash to buy, for instance, the basic materials for rebuilding their modest dwellings. Some houses had been reduced to rubble. Others were not safe to live in as their main walls had buckled. The river in its full fury had cut into cropped land in some cases and so there were those who were left not only without the crop but without the land as well. Many worried about the flood next time that could make their entire village a part of the river. Where can we go people asked. How can we buy land elsewhere without any money? Will the government help settle us elsewhere? Obviously this is not a great time for answers.

PPP Practicing Negative Politics

93AS0063B Lahore THE NATION in English
28 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Inayat Ullah: "Floods and Politics"]

[Text] The floods, too, have become a political issue. It is interesting and even amusing to see a certain section of the Opposition dubbing it as a conspiracy hatched against the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] to stop its campaign against the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government. That such a bizarre and unlikely idea could be conceived and projected is a sad commentary on the way politics operates in our country.

The fact remains that the PPP had picked up a considerable momentum since August 14 and in their rallies at

Lahore, Swat, Taxila and Murree had demonstrated their street power. And Benazir had come out with her plans for a "long march" to Islamabad and organise a sit-in before the Parliament House. The floods certainly interrupted the proposed mass action against the IJI government. Much more than the government, therefore, it was the PPP which was caught by the natural disaster, on the wrong foot. This sudden blow to its strategy also partially explains the bewildering inertia and inaction on its part. A national party of PPP's stature was expected to make a visible contribution towards the national effort to face the floods. If Edhi and Jama'at-i-Islam could quickly announce their plans to do their bit, why couldn't the PPP too do something to help the people? The government may well be blamed for not providing a helicopter to Benazir, but the People's Party certainly could have found alternative ways and means to ensure that its leaders could visit the affected or threatened areas without delay. In a way the party as an important organised entity was exposed as weak and lacking in leadership in a period of national emergency. For a whole week it did nothing. It just watched the situation and issued one or two statements criticising the government.

As for the IJI government's handling of the calamity, there is much to command and much to notice by way of lapses—lack of coordination, mishandling of the release of waters from the Mangla Dam and of course a general unpreparedness. There may also be considerable mismanagement in the distribution of relief and assistance to flood victims. A committee appointed to examine the Mangla mishap has already submitted its report to the government. The PPP has asked for a judicial probe in the matter. There certainly are other defaults. There is need for appointing a national commission to look into all the relevant aspects of floods—the warning system, the state of preparedness, the competence and capacity of the existing agencies to meet the emergency, all the elements relating to the flash floods—how these were handled at different places, the questions of release of waters from dams and the bund breaches to save head-works and populated areas. The commission should also avail of advice and assistance from experts of concerned international agencies and countries where systems have been developed to manage successfully national calamities including torrential rains and the swelling of rivers. Out of the deliberations of the commission should come recommendations for appropriate action against the defaulters as well as the establishment of a National Natural Disasters Management Organisation [NDMO]. This NDMO may also have wings exclusively concerned with planning for effective and speedy relief measures as also for repairs and redesigning of the infrastructure including irrigation and power-works, wherever necessary.

With the colossal damage done to the country's economy, Pakistan can ill-afford another such disaster. We have to take all necessary steps to prevent any such

recurrence, mitigate its adverse impact and mount preventive measures including a vigorous drive for afforestation of the catchment areas. Learning from the experience of other countries, our rivers must be tamed, to the extent possible. The settlement of the Kashmir question hanging fire for more than four decades, too, is vital for our long-term plans of water management in Pakistan. We have to step up our efforts to secure the liberation of Kashmir from India's stranglehold.

In any civilised country or society, a national disaster would call for a united national response. Here in Pakistan our wretched politics is so riven with dissension and discord that the calamity has only compounded the polarisation between the IJI and PPP. The major responsibility for developing a united approach in vital matters of national concern and magnitude of course, rests with the government. Unfortunately the vision and cooperative attitude needed has generally been found missing. The IJI government may have scored a political point by not allowing Benazir to have a government aircraft, which they apprehended she would use to project herself and her party at the expense of the ruling group but this certainly didn't create a wholesome impression on the general public. Not permitting the Leader of the Opposition to speak on the question of the flood, in the National Assembly, too was short-sighted and could have been avoided.

The President's call not to play politics with the misery of the people has fallen on deaf ears. The latest string of statements emanating from the PPP promises a heightening of the animosity and tension between the two groups. The Multan episode is an indication of how the two are beginning to get violent, in the current state of confrontation. It does no credit to the government to annoy the Opposition unnecessarily or place hurdles in its belated programme to provide some relief to the benighted people. It is time IJI stalwarts and decision-makers realise that the PPP supported by such political inveterate agitators as Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan has somehow reached a state of utter desperation where no holds are barred in their resolve to inflict maximum damage on the rulers. To say that Benazir, for various reasons (anger at her dismissal in 1990 as Prime Minister, court references against her and her colleagues, the imprisonment of her husband on the basis of serious criminal charges, her defeat in the elections and the acquisition of power by her arch rival) has become totally desperate and volatile is no exaggeration. Her past record of 22 months is proof of the hostility and enmity she harbours against Nawaz Sharif and his alliance. One must acknowledge the consistency and tenacity of her determination to dislodge him and his government. Rightly or wrongly, she decided to sit in the National Assembly. The provincial Assemblies too were accepted as constitutionally valid entities. She however would not accept the legitimacy of elections. She was not bothered about the contradiction involved in participating in the proceedings of the House and yet calling it "bogus." The PPP strategy included any step to achieve

their objectives. Disinformation, calls to the President to dismiss the government under the provisions of the much-condemned 8th Amendment, a demand for the President to be removed, appealing to the Army to take over and work with the PPP in running the national affairs as well as a persistent pursuit of the idea, however unreal of a "national government."

The fact of the matter is that unless the IJI government plunges into a series of blunders and acts of misconduct, it need not fear removal or replacement till the next elections. The PPP's strength in the National Assembly is meagre and even with other Opposition parties joining it, it will be difficult to secure a no-confidence vote against the IJI. Keeping this crucial fact in view, it is the height of folly for IJI to afford opportunities to the PPP to find faults with its performance and behaviour and launch mass protests against it. Nawaz Sharif should consider himself lucky that he has got an electoral Opposition which is weak in number, but at the same time, everready to jump at his lapses and defaults. Benazir thus, helps him all the time to be on his toes and he has to watch his step all the way. With his energy and the mind-set of a successful businessman he should forge ahead with his plans and programmes without fears of being destabilised. He has only to shed the narrow and cramped view of his rival which was nurtured when he was the Chief Minister of Punjab. He can afford to be fair and even magnanimous in his dealings with the Opposition. Such an attitude will ease some of his avoidable irritations. He has to learn to take the machinations of a defeated and frustrated national party in his stride. By all means neutralise, without loss of time, accusations hurled against the government and counter disinformation promptly and with finesse but don't stoop to the temptation of adopting tactics similar to those deployed by the opponents.

The flood and its aftermath has become a testing time for both the government and the Opposition. Let both in a spirit of toleration and constructive cooperation vie with each other to help the poor affectees and assist each other in mounting a national endeavour to rebuild the economy which has been damaged so severely by the wild and unruly waters.

Will it be too much to expect that Benazir for once will thoroughly and ruthlessly review and analyse her situation and the attendant factors, give up her adherence to negative politics and reconstruct her policies and strategies in the larger interests of the country and welfare of the people of Pakistan. Undiluted non-stop confrontation will neither help the party nor the people. The reality of her being an Opposition leader with a limited political strength in the House must be accepted. All the PPP's energies should henceforth be concentrated on reorganising itself on democratic lines, strengthening the hands of its party workers, developing workable alternative ideas and policies to enable the government to take the right decisions, pinpointing defects in their plans and operations, taking them to task for acts of omission and commission and gearing itself fully to face the people at

the next elections, armed and equipped with manifestly superior and workable proposals, programmes and projects.

Inept Management of Dam

93AS0063C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
27 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Hussain Naqi: "Playing Politics on Floods"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Establishment-backed reigning Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his provincial subordinates were faced with the worst challenge from their political adversaries as floods and rains ravages have exposed their incapacity for crisis management. The officially-controlled media, under pressure to provide face lift, was only adding to projecting the nervousness writ large on their faces. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's admonishing of the Opposition also drowned in the Opposition din as the ever-surviving patriarch of the bureaucratic part of the establishment could not sound partisan. The COAS [Chief of Army Staff], General Asif Nawaz's presence during the worst hit Jehlum and Sindh tour could only save Mr. Nawaz Sharif from rough queries. Yet, he could not come to his rescue when the Mangla Corps Commander put the facts straight about overfilling of the Mangla reservoir and sudden opening of gates, unleashing a 15 feet high torrent that submerged whatever fell on its way.

The regime had not spared the Opposition and now it was the later's turn to hammer hard the establishment surrogates. That is what it was doing and with sufficient success. The Opposition on both sides, i.e., conservative and popular, found a common ground to hit the government hard on its failure to prevent the catastrophe caused by the floods, from north to south, and to provide succour to the people in their hour of need. Not that the Opposition did better on that count, but it could successfully articulate their plight and sound convincing in its criticism, both for the common folk as well as the intelligentsia, in the affected areas as well as at those places which remained unaffected. As for the affectees, most of them remained shelterless and without any succour reaching them even after about two weeks of the deluge that visited them.

The regime, presiding over a corrupt and inefficient administration and further handicapped by lack of a supportive political organisation, could not expect to cope with the situation which required dedication and devotion besides honesty of purpose. Reports appearing in the Press, which could undertake independent and on-the-spot coverage of the obtaining situation but only of limited areas, indicated that officialdom in complicity with the criminal, but well-connected elements, had already indulged in malpractices. The affectees, after losing most of their possessions, were being deprived and even robbed of what they could save or were left with. The floating corpses could not complain of being

deprived of what they were wearing on their necks or on their wrists, but those who could breathe and were still alive surely needed protection to their life, honour and whatever possessions they were left with. Newspaper reports tell about the lack of protection to them and their added sufferings. How could they forget that and the Opposition would surely continue to remind them to the detriment of the regime. With more and more facts coming to its notice, and information available to the public through print media at home and abroad, the Opposition would be better equipped to increase its onslaught. No amount of paid publicity or visual publicity could equal the facts on ground which went against the regime.

The government was yet to disprove the charge that much of the flood devastation was caused due to the sudden opening of gates at Mangla after undue delay and overfilling of the reservoir despite information made available by the upper riparian neighbour for a price. No cover-up could be possible after the reports about Corps Commander Mangla's briefing. The intriguing silence of the handpicked WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] Chairman also gave credence to the added allegations about a high-level policy decision to keep the reservoir filled to the maximum level to avoid power loadshedding. That the same continued even while the catchment areas faced heavy downpour made it all the more intriguing. Now MNA [Member of National Assembly] Aitzaz Ahsan, in his 20 questions, which he proposed to raise in the National Assembly, had alluded that the Mangla gates were kept closed to let same sand removing contractor collect as much of it as could be possible to supply the same to some big client. No one from the government side challenged Aitzaz's charge in that regard or disputed his other queries, till the writing of this column. Similarly, there was no answer to the allegations that the choice of breaches made in various bunds was motivated by political considerations.

To make things even worse for the Nawaz Sharif government, the ruling party hoodlums indulged in violence while the Opposition leader, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, visited Multan and other places in the area, providing her supporters an opportunity to counter the same and with success. The Army acted with discretion by withdrawing its personnel before the incident and saved itself of the embarrassment that it would have surely caused. The civil administration once again demonstrated inability to administer without fear or favour. The provocation, totally uncalled for and most inopportune and in bad taste, prompted Ms. Bhutto to launch her attack against the government with added vigour and sting. Thundered she: if floods were the wrath of God, then why did they not visit those who say this? And more biting was her comment that those who had raised the slogan 'wake up Punjabis', instead of awakening them, drowned them in flood waters. For her audience, it was not mere words or rhetoric but a traumatic experience, despite the fact that they were just saved from getting drowned. And while

they survived, and as long as their miseries continued, these words would continue to ring in their ears. The only way for the Nawaz Sharif government to counter these words was to perform the miracle of rehabilitating all the millions of people who had suffered the flood devastation and lost their meagre life's possessions which add up to billions if not a trillion or even more. If his government could make the miracle possible, even then the Opposition would claim credit for forcing the government to have done it. That's what the Opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto, was saying right now, not only for whatsoever little the government was doing for the flood-hit people, but also about the robbed ones of Cooperatives and other scams. Let's watch and see what the establishment and its favourites could do to avert the latter's visible doom in the floods aftermath. The first face-to-face encounter could not be delayed further as the National Assembly was to be in session to complete the remaining days of the calendar year. The real fireworks would be on display then.

Government Negligence Called Criminal

93AS0063D Lahore *THE NATION* in English
20 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Hussain Naqi: "Floods Disaster: The Negligence Factor"]

[Text] The colossal loss of public and private property and human lives in the recent heavy rains and continuing floods would be the prime issue to be agitated with full fury as the fury of the rivers subsides and its aftermath surfaces. It is a national calamity, no doubt, but it has not been caused by nature alone. There is substantial prima facie evidence to that effect and would require a thorough probe through a high-level judicial commission to identify the culprits, if accountability has any meaning. Efforts appear to be already underway to sweep under the carpet the governments and its functionaries failures with regard to performance of their duty.

Some of the major lapses, already reported by the Press, clearly indicate that wanton plunder of forests in the catchment areas with criminal collaboration of government functionaries in both Northern Areas and Azad Kashmir where all the bridges were either swept away or were rendered unserviceable is the primary reason for the deluge. The AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] Prime Minister's announcement that he and his government would not permit Opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto to visit the area (even before she made or announced her programme) told a lot about the situation in an area, correctly described by a staffer of this daily as Pakistan's first and foremost line of defence. The situation in the areas under the jurisdiction of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] after heavy downpour could be understood from the treatment meted out to the province's Chief Minister. Later events in the Punjab also provided a conclusive proof to the apathy of the government and the administration when residents of Jhelum

city found themselves submerged in the onrushing water of River Jehlum. It was reported that the administration had delayed making the information public and when the waters came, the officials could do little else than save themselves and their families from being swept away. The delay in releasing the waters from Mangla lake and then opening all the dam gates at once that drowned all the inhabitants of an islet is now in the process of being submerged in a departmental inquiry while one of the legislators from the area is accusing the Indian RAW [Research and Analysis Wing] connection of the official concerned. That could be an easy way to find a scapegoat but would not be helpful in reaching to truth of the tragedy.

And while the heavy downpour was continuing and rivers in spate, the pious Prime Minister had time enough to take a jaunt to holy city with the whole of his (joint) family for Umra. Wasn't it the conclusive evidence of the lack of government's concern for the situation that was fast developing into a colossal calamity? Either the Prime Minister was not properly informed of the dimensions of the tragedy which was unfolding or was complacent and concerned with his and his family's welfare alone to fly for performing a mere ritual which could well be postponed for some other date and day. In his absence the President took it upon himself to tour the badly-hit areas.

As the media began to wake and shake the governments, Federal and provincial, and their functionaries about the floods, it was already too late. This was demonstrated when the Prime Minister, on his return from the pilgrimage, panicked by the situation on ground, told a crowd of affectees that nothing but fervent prayers could help them. He also opted to announce that Pakistan would face the floods aftermath through its own resources while it was already known to the common newspaper readers as well that the magnitude of losses would be far beyond the government or the general public's capacity to bear. That only indicated that Mr. Nawaz Sharif and his colleagues as well as those sitting in Islamabad and advising them were little aware of the devastations that their apathy had contributed to multiply beyond their resources. The lack of proper awareness about the grim situation was proved also through reports appearing in the Press which stated that the concerned authorities and departments involved held the view that flood season was over and had, in fact, wound up the routine exercises in that regard. It was obvious then that they were not at all ready to meet the challenge when it faced them. Now when the national Press and the media exposed the complacency on the part of government and its functionaries, which certainly contributed a great deal in maximising the miseries of the people and their losses in life and property, especially the latter, the government was unhappy with the media. However, one could still hear voices like that of Punjab Revenue Minister cautioning against attempts to hoodwink the sufferers.

Thankfully for the government, many of those who faced the flood ravages were not in a position to view the publicity being given to relief work being conducted by the ruling party. But those who were viewing the same could very well detect that some of the footage was being rerun in prime time news bulletins day after day. That could help little in enhancing the government's image in the eyes of either the viewing public or those who had suffered heavily all over the Punjab, in Northern Areas and in Kashmir. As for Sindh, the government's credentials were already in question when it failed to come in a big way to assist those who had suffered losses due to heavy rains last month. The issue was forcefully picked up by the Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto but was to no avail. By the time this column was being written, the flood water was moving fast towards Sindh and finally the army took the decisions to carry out its duty and make breaches to save both the Punjab and Sindh cities.

The army's contribution in rescue work has, generally, been lauded. But the fact that the government and civil authorities did not awake to the impending crisis at the right moment and delayed calling in army beforehand, must have and did delay rescue and relief reaching the affectees. Yet, whatever rescue and relief that could reach the victims was mostly through pressing the army into service.

As for the ruling party's attitude towards Opposition was concerned, it was highly partisan. The Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto was denied the facility of surveying the rain-and-flood hit areas despite her persistent requests and demands. At the same time, government leaders were making statements asking her not to politicise the issue (while they themselves were responsible for the same). Now that the deluge had visited a vast section of the people from north to south, she had all the reason to charge the government of gross apathy and criminal neglect. At least one Opposition legislator threatened to get a multiple murder case registered.

In the circumstances, it would be highly desirable that the President appoint a judicial commission comprising respected Supreme Court judges, both retired and serving, with wide powers to undertake a thorough investigation into the tragedy, identify the culprits and suggest action against them. Besides, the said judicial commission assisted by experts, both from amongst the civilian and army ranks and the various political parties, should suggest measures as could save such preventable losses as the people were subjected to due to rains and floods. The proposed commission would have to go into the functioning of various authorities like WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] and other government departments like Forest, Irrigation, Revenue, etc., besides the civil administration which was to carry out overall supervision.

If such a commission is appointed, many a lapses and blunders on the part of all concerned would surely come to light and it would be possible to prevent their recurrence in the future. For the same and also to ensure that

no more complacency was allowed in the rehabilitation of those who have lost their near and dear ones, their meagre possessions and their live's assets, public opinion should put the required pressure through media and otherwise, so that the government and its functionaries discharged their duty. The Opposition should continue its pressure as well both within the legislature and outside, to ensure succour for rain and flood victims throughout Pakistan and Azad Kashmir.

Government Hiding Facts

93AS0063E Lahore *THE NATION* in English
22 Sep 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Politics of Floods"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] No one may have any quarrel with President Ghulam Ishaq's contention that the Opposition should not try to make political mileage out of a national disaster like the current floods, but quite a few would wish to bring the message home that it has not entirely been a one-way traffic. Had the government been a little more tolerant towards the Opposition and not so conspicuously possessive about sharing the laurels, it could have taken the lead to project the floods disaster as a non-partisan issue of national concern and asked the Opposition to join hands in the gigantic relief and rehabilitation effort that is called in this hour of mass distress. But, if the government is prone to stealing the show, using all conceivable publicity gimmicks to run its PR campaign and not letting the Opposition even set up a few 'relief camps' at public places, it would be rather unfair to blame the Opposition alone for being petty and

unhelpful. Ms. Benazir Bhutto's request for a helicopter to visit the flood-hit areas may have been 'asking for the moon' in a political culture where contention for power is deemed as no less than a blood-feud. But the manner in which it has been ridiculed by responsible government leaders, some of them going to the extent of calling it an attempt to have a 'pleasure trip' has not only been in bad taste, but also indicative of the lingering tendency in official quarters to proclaim patriotic bona fides as the exclusive prerogative of the party in power.

No matter what the Opposition has been propagating about the government's 'non-performance' or 'debacles' in coping with the floods disaster, the officially-controlled media has virtually blacked out any news or comments on the floods situation other than the officially-certified truth. It, therefore, sounds bizarre when one hears on the PTV ministers condemning the Opposition for its disruptive politics over the floods issue. If the President's genuinely concerned over what he sees as attempts to 'trade on human misery', he should use his good offices to change the climate of mutual distrust that has marred a reasonable approach even to a national calamity. If the government and the Opposition can be persuaded to agree on a moratorium on political contention as long as the national agenda should be relief and rehabilitation of the people in distress, a good turn would be done to the country and the people. A modest beginning towards the goal of looking at the floods disaster from a national perspective would be, as the Punjab's Revenue Minister has hinted at, to associate the Opposition with relief bodies. If it is done in right earnest, and the Opposition has the sagacity to respond positively, it may pave the way for a unified national effort to override the crisis that the country is faced with.

IJI Leaders Speak Against Islamic Fundamentalism

93AS0027D Lahore *THE NATION* in English
10 Sep 92 pp 4-7

[Article by Rashed Rahman: "IJI's Dissenting Voices Against Fundamentalism"]

[Text] It is no accident that more and more people who can be described as educated, enlightened and in touch with the complexities and needs of modern societies are beginning to add their voices to the apprehensions about the direction and drift the country is taking. Pakistan is being held hostage to the dogmatic, literalist interpretation of Islamic state and society which the Ulema insist on imposing, irrespective of the objective conditions and/or problems this insistence might pose. The ruling IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] went into the 1990 elections with Islamisation as the main plank of its manifesto. That, and common hatred of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], was the glue holding an otherwise disparate coalition together. The Muslim League, the mainstay political party of the IJI, had not, historically at least, been associated or identified with the maulvis. On the contrary, during the independence struggle, the religious parties had opposed the demand for Pakistan on doctrinal and theological grounds. It was only after the state of Pakistan came into being that the mullahs changed tack 180 degrees and decided to take over what they had been unable to prevent.

The founding fathers of Pakistan, Iqbal and Jinnah, repeatedly rejected the concept of a theocratic state, "run by priests with a divine mission" (Jinnah). Iqbal's thought represented the modernist interpretation of Islam which stressed the need for Ijma, to be carried out by the people's representatives in Parliament. His ideas are best summed up in his book, "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam." The running battle between the modernists and the fundamentalists in Muslim thought went on throughout the independence phase and continues right down to the present day.

The first inroads by the fundamentalist school into the definition of what sort of state and society were to be constructed had to wait until the Quaid passed away. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, compromised on Jinnah's well-known and articulated position and agreed to have the Objectives Resolution included in the first Constitution, although it did not as yet form a substantive part of this document (this was later accomplished by General Zia's insertion of Article 2-A). The next test of strength was the anti-Ahmadi agitation of 1953. However the maulvis were only partially successful in this effort. It is ironic that the Quaid had appointed an Ahmadi, Sir Zafarullah Khan, as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan. But this cut no ice with the fundamentalists, bent upon subverting and supplanting the ideas of the Quaid by their own version of what Pakistan was to be.

Ayub's modernist outlook was also anathema to the religious clergy. His Family Laws Ordinance 1961 in particular aroused their ire because it provided mechanisms for the protection and defense of women against arbitrary divorce, and even provided a reconciliation procedure. The tussle with Ayub produced the opportunistic support of the religious parties for the candidature of Miss Fatima Jinnah in the Presidential election of 1964 (a position from which they felt free to resile during the Benazir era, arguing that Islam did not permit a woman as head of state).

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto permitted the passage of the anti-Ahmadi amendment in 1974. Further concessions by Bhutto during the PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] agitation on the question of banning alcohol, declaring Friday as the weekly holiday, etc., failed to save him or quell the religious opposition, which pressed on, smelling blood.

The finest hour of the fundamentalists arrived during General Zia's military dictatorship. State patronage allowed the fundamentalist lobby to capture the political agenda and focus it narrowly on "Islamisation" at the expense of pressing practical problems. That legacy was inherited and donned by the IJI. We are still wrestling with it today.

What characterises this necessarily brief review of the onward march of fundamentalism in Pakistan's history is the lack of widespread mass support for the extremist religious parties (they have consistently failed to win more than a handful of seats in every election), and their dependence on state patronage to further their ideas. The Muslim masses which came to support the Muslim League's demand for a separate state of Pakistan were inspired by its championing of their rights as a distinct and discriminated-against minority community in the subcontinent. Forty five years of post-independence experience has failed to indicate that they have shifted that position en masse to support the intemperate fulminations of the extremist religious fringe.

Why then has the question of Islamisation come to assume such a vexed character now? With due respect to those of our representatives who sit in the Assemblies, the deep-seated mood and aspirations of the people for a less taxing existence are not necessarily reflected in the constant orbiting around esoteric theological debate. This does not make the people worse Muslims. It only reflects their pathetic state as citizens of a country which has always promised much but in which successive governments have delivered little. If proof were required of the troubled condition of our polity, one has only to peruse the statements of luminaries such as Dr. Javid Iqbal, who has found the courage to state his unease with the fundamentalist direction the government is pursuing. Of late he has been joined by voices, weak and inconsistent voices, but certainly troubled voices, from within the ranks of the IJI itself.

The first to speak was Sardar Assef Ali, Minister of State for Economic Affairs. On the question of the elimination of Riba from the economy, he was bold enough to state that without a viable alternative system, riba could not be eliminated without causing the complete collapse of the economy. He was lent this courage by the ominous signals from foreign loan agencies that these developments (after the Federal Shariat Court's decision on riba) would imperil the release of funds in the pipeline as well as any future financing. An economy totally dependent on foreign funds flows, which cannot survive for a day without these regular injections of money, cannot contemplate such adventurism.

Since the Finance Minister, Mr. Sartaj Aziz, thought discretion the better part of valour, it was left to Sardar Assef to act as the point-man for the rationalist objectors (many of whom are to be found in the ranks of the Muslim League, as evidenced during the debate last year on the Shariat Bill, when the sentiment was "we will not allow the mullahs to rule," but of late they seem publicly tongue-tied). Sardar Assef was also perturbed by the developments in Afghanistan, where the insistence of the Jamaat-i-Islami to exclusively foist Golbodin Hekmatyar on Kabul had endangered the development of trade routes and economic cooperation with the states of Central Asia. These seemingly eminently reasonable propositions drew howls of protest and fatwas of apostasy onto the Sardar's head. Even his marriage was declared no longer valid. These antics would be amusing if it were not for the serious, life-and-death nature of the issue for the survival and well-being of the country. Of late Sardar Assef seems to be wavering from his firmly held convictions as a professional economist, or perhaps has been silenced.

Next it was Governor Azhar's turn. Mian Azhar has the welfare of children, especially children from disadvantaged backgrounds or areas, close to his heart. He has been supporting the setting up and growth of model schools in the inner city areas of Lahore. Coming from a similar background himself, he knows first-hand what the needs of such children are. When he decided to take on the maulvis on the issue of the kind of education or knowledge being imparted in the deeni madrassas (lota and oonchi shalwar), he was set upon by a demonstration of the Punjab Chief Minister's patronised Mashaikh. The Governor bear a hasty retreat.

Rana Nazeer, the Minister of State for Population Planning, is charged by the very nature of the Ministry he controls, to remove all obstacles in the way of a rational control of our runaway population growth, which threatens to wipe out whatever progress we may achieve and to condemn us to perpetual mass poverty. Finding the clergy's views on the problem narrow and unhelpful, he delivered himself of a perfectly acceptable statement to that effect, only to eat his words later (hiding behind the usual excuse of having been misquoted by the newspapers).

On the very day Nawaz Sharif told his two Ministers of State to shut up against the maulvis (fearing their backlash) and asked for an explanation from them, Ghulam Ahmed Bilour of the ANP [Awami National Party], Federal Minister for Railways, was delivering himself in Lahore of a blast against mullaism. He said if the mullahs came to power, no Muslim would be safe. He condemned their negative role. Obviously Nawaz cannot reign in his ANP ally the way he can pressurise the junior Ministers of his own party.

The IJI government speaks with different voices, if not a forked tongue. Nawaz Sharif and his government's piety is not the question. Their genuine commitment to a fundamentalist state, which threatens democracy through the erosion of the supremacy of Parliament (by, for example, placing the Federal Shariat Court in a position to strike down any law enacted by the Assemblies), demeans the position of women and minorities, and also threatens the open economy of the Prime Minister's "industrial revolution" through strictures on riba and the economy, can however be discussed rationally in the light of the objective needs of the country (something a businessman Prime Minister would be expected to understand). A misplaced emphasis, and being held hostage to, an election manifesto which was expedient may not only create difficulties for the Prime Minister, it can also further encourage the maulvis to go all the way with their strategy of creeping control of all aspects of national life. They already appear to have the bit between their teeth. Why have successive regimes in Pakistan allowed themselves to be subjected to a literalist interpretation of our faith at the expense of nationality? The pattern is well set and recognisable. Whenever an incumbent government feels weak politically, it falls back on exploiting the name of Islam to cover up its non-performance. In the case of the Nawaz Sharif government too, the Prime Minister's declining hold over the country seems to explain his periodic descent into a new round of "Islamisation." The cost of this epilepsy to the country's objective of catching up with the rest of the world on the threshold of the 21st century will be prohibitive, to say the least.

Government Policy on Sharia Seen Inflaming Sectarianism

93AS0028H Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
(Supplement) in English 11 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Aziz Siddiqui: "Which Way the Wind Blows"; italicized words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] The reported move to bring a law against sectarian and ethnic organisations is naive if prompted by an honest, though belated, outrage. It is sinister if it is born of political expediency. In either case, if it is not stillborn, the initiative looks destined to die an anaemic death from the shallowness of its objective; or a violent one because of the unholy fervour it will provoke from the object of its concern.

Some of the worst sectarian excesses occurred over the past years, including a mindless series of assassinations, recurrent outbreak of mob frenzy, and incessant outpourings of murderous bigotry. Unspeakable tyrannies were also perpetrated from a passion for ethnic self-assertion in benighted parts of Sindh and Balochistan. Yet barely an official word was ever breathed in condemnation of the bodies responsible. The official conscience wasn't even stirred the way it suddenly seems to have done now.

There was apparent reason for this. The worst of those ills were born of the needs of the ruling order itself. The one were the bastard brood of the other. Ethnicity would not have assumed the horrendous proportions it did, had Gen. Zia, shaken by the eruption of Sindhi discontent in 1983, not devised the Machiavellian answer of dividing up the province and creating an ethnic monster to rival and do battle with the Sindhi sentiment. The current crop of his political heirs has been faithful to the legacy. The bids to woo MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], sections of Jiyay Sindh, and ANP [Awami National Party] in the Frontier were not prompted by a political vision to seek compromises, they were born of the driving hatred for the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the need to forge every possible alliance against it.

Similarly, sectarianism is the direct progeny of fundamentalism. There have been recurrent waves of fundamentalism in the history of Islam, and sectarianism was never more virulent than in periods of its high tide. This stands to reason. When orthodoxy is in the ascendant, it is bound to touch off a murderous race for deciding whose orthodoxy it is that would prevail. Every sub-sect of every sect considers itself not only holier than the rest but the only one entrusted with the holy truth, all others being doomed to eternal damnation.

It is also a fact of Islamic history that the impulse behind *asabiyah*, or group solidarity, was almost invariably political, it was the urge for community leadership. The doctrinal dimension came in later, to lend a higher purpose to narrow loyalty, and to introduce elements of lasting cohesion and burgeoning fervour in the circle of following that is wished both to be continually expanded and to be always tightly held.

If there is talk in our day of Islamisation and Shariatization, all inevitably on the mullah's terms, there can be no surer guarantee of a stampede for everyone's assertion of his own, the only, truth; for each reaching for the levers of power, demanding the right of shaping things exclusively to himself. Gen. Zia started the Islamisation process in order to establish a pocket of pious support in his political isolation; and his mantle-bearers now find that it is also their political need to carry on with it. It is no mere coincidence that religiously-named groupings never multiplied or gained political clout as much and as rapidly as during these spells: Tanzeem-i-Islami, Tehreek-i-Khilafat, Hizb-i-Islami, Jamiat-i-Mashaikh, Terik-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwat, Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria [TNFJ] and Anjuman Sipah-i-Sahaba

[ASS] were only a few of those that did more than some others to attract media attention.

Why is it that Mian Nawaz Sharif should now wish to reverse gear and put a brake on some of those he had been politically indebted to, and whom he had been putting in his own debt too?

It is because sectarianism is acquiring a political strength he increasingly feels he may have no answer for? The Anjuman Sipah-i-Sahaba roundly trounced him in the by-election to National and Provincial Assembly seats from Jhang last April. It was the first time in the country's history that a sectarian body had scored electorally. The ASS is in fact acquiring such self-confidence that at times it must appear to the rulers to be a more menacing presence than all the other opposition. It also looks obvious that in the developing confrontation over the pace of 'Shariatization' the worst embarrassment to the ruling party may come from the more militantly fanatical elements.

The running battle between the Shias and Sunnis must also be costing the government some face with such close allies as Saudi Arabia and Iran.

In respect of ethnic organisations, Islamabad might be foreseeing a challenge developing from the more radical Sindhi nationalist bodies on the one hand and the less tameable of the MQM elements on the other. Restraining them could, among other things, make it easier for it to reclaim the mainstream MQM later, after the dust raised in the present 'clean up' settles down. There may also be a fear of a revival of Pakhtun nationalism in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Balochistan if the crisis in Afghanistan worsens to the point of ethnic confrontation.

The army too, reflecting on its periodic chore of having to 'clear up' the national mess, might just conceivably have counselled Nawaz Sharif that the freedom of the sectarian and ethnic bodies could now be reviewed?

But where would the government begin and end the exercise? ASS could be prime candidate. Its followers think nothing of shooting down an Iranian diplomat and feeling proud of the accomplishment; it calls for Shias being declared kafirs; and it demands that the country be named a Sunni state. Can TNFJ be left out? But then, can it be included? What about JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] whose followers mounted a violent raid against the Zikris last March; the party demands that community to be declared kafir; it wants non-Muslims to be debarred from all key posts and all institutions run by them to be closed down; it holds that only a Sunni should be permitted to become the country's president; and it admits no interpretations of the Quran and Sunnah not adopted by the Companions? What of the JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] which is as staunch in its Bareilvi persuasion as JUI is in its Deobandi and which will have none but the Hanafi fiqh? And the Jama'at-i-Islami,

which is as staunchly opposed to the Bareilvis, subscribes to the Wahabi school, and regards Shias as the product of a Jewish conspiracy?

Sectarianism is thus hard to delimit. It may not be as open and unabashed in one case as in another, but it can be as explosive given its chance. Even if organisations are banned, will the evil end with them? Who is the creation of whom? A government that keeps pledging itself to shariatisation in the language of orthodoxy and claims itself opposed to sectarianism is clearly speaking with a cleft tongue. The hypocrisy may or may not be intended, it remains unmistakable. Mian Nawaz Sharif straddles Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi and Sardar Assef Ahmad Ali at the same time and considers himself clever. To all others he comes across as a picture of befuddlement and bemusement, if not of utter insincerity.

Similarly in the case of ethnicism, MQM may call itself *haq parast* for purposes of election and escape any law against ethnicity, but if it does, the law will be shown to be the nonsense it will in any case be.

If there is a stronger surge of Sindhi nationalism, or if Pukhtun revanchism become a reality in the Frontier and Balochistan following a worsening of the situation in Afghanistan, can these be summarily legislated out of existence? Will the President's issuing another of his frequent ordinances adding a new restrictive clause to the Political Parties Act, or the Parliament's doing another of its half-hour job of amending the constitution abridging the fundamental rights of the freedom of association, put the genie back into the bottle?

Were there any genuineness in the desire to curb sectarianism and ethnicism, the folly of aiming to do it through legislation would thus be obvious. More so when the factors responsible for these tendencies are not just left intact but are given further impetus. Sectarianism is bound to get worse with the current verbosity about the theocratisation of the society. Even if the rhetoric is not all seriously meant, it creates an atmosphere and builds an expectation that can only cause people to reach for each other's throat in holy self-righteousness.

Similarly, the uglier features of ethnicity cannot be defeated except through political means. Ethnicity is a reaction of fear. People seek security in smaller groups, in apparent likenesses, when they perceive threat from the larger grouping. The only way to resolve the abrasiveness is to tackle the element of fear, the perception of threat, the wrongs suffered or imagined. In other words, create trust, win confidence, through dialogue and earnest of good intentions. Also negotiate with people who can deliver.

A government that vows supremacy to the mullah and at the same time avows a resolve to end sectarianism; if it eschews the political process to the extent of pursuing a vendetta against the largest political opposition but wants to eliminate divisiveness at other levels; such a government can only be regarded either as foolish or

dishonest. It may tinker with the twigs; the root and branch will stay and spread to mock at its folly—or its chicanery.

Government Seen Indecisive in Confronting Sectarianism

93AS0027E Lahore THE NATION in English 9 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Abbas Rashid: "Will a Ban Do It?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The exposure of the activities of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) as a consequence of operation clean-up in Sindh and the spate of sectarian killings in the Punjab along with the increasingly strident rhetoric of Anjuman Sipah-i-Sahaba (ASS), in particular, has led to the demand from some quarters that such organisations should be banned. The government itself has indicated that it is seriously considering such a possibility. The Prime Minister has reportedly directed the Ministry of the Interior to prepare a draft law to restrict the activities of groups and organisations that function on a sectarian or ethnic basis.

The government could put a ban on such parties by amending the Constitution, but this would require a two-thirds majority, which is a somewhat dicey proposition under the present circumstances. The other more likely course of action in the view of legal experts is the achievement of this end through amendments in the Political Parties Act.

We are still not sure if all this is largely by way of trial ballooning or whether the PM [Prime Minister] has actually made up his mind in this context. For let us not forget the long courtship between the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and the MQM not only before the Operation Clean-up in Sindh, but well after it in the head-long pursuit of keeping the tottering government of Muzaffar Shah in the province from toppling over. What stronger signal could there possibly be for the members and sympathisers of the MQM, many of whom might otherwise have been left with serious reservations about the character of the party leadership, that it was simply being targeted for political ends. Cast in the mould of the victim, then, the MQM is unlikely to suffer greatly in its popular standing. In any case, at a formal level, the MQM seems well prepared to counter such a move to restrict its activities. It has contested elections under the banner of "Haq Parast" and can, therefore, continue to operate at the electoral level despite a law banning ethnic and sectarian organisations from doing so. Further, it can retain its ethnic identity without proclaiming it, through the rather simple expedient of renaming itself as the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) which, as Altaf Hussain has often said in the past, will seek to bring on to one platform the oppressed and the down-trodden belonging to all the provinces of Pakistan. This will enable it to operate in urban Sindh as before. Even

though as the "Muttahida" movement, its impact outside urban Sindh would still be limited. At least in terms of getting a significant response from other cultural and language groups. For once a political organisation has defined itself in terms that are narrow and exclusivist, be they ethnic or sectarian, it is virtually impossible to transcend those limits and to work a transformation into a broad-based, national entity. Unfortunately, the reverse is not always true. There is, in other words, considerable likelihood that a political party that starts off as being broad-based recedes into becoming, not least as a consequence of short-sighted government policies, the representative of a more narrowly-defined group.

In the context of violent sectarianism as well, the government seems to be playing both sides of the fence. While it is apparently considering a ban on sectarian organisations, there is hardly anything in its actions to suggest that it is willing to renounce the policy of politicising religion, taken to an unprecedented extreme by Gen. Ziaul Haq. There is irony at more than one level in the Prime Minister pledging to follow in Zia's footsteps during the course of an address at the latter's fourth death anniversary and having to, at the same time, ask a section of his audience to desist from raising sectarian slogans. Intoned the PM, "We are all Muslims—Shias, Sunnis, Deobandis and others had struggled jointly for the creation of Pakistan." It would be useful for the Prime Minister to consider that such united action was possible precisely because at the time religion inspired political action, it was not made an instrument of politics. Following in Ziaul Haq's footsteps, Mian Nawaz Sharif has found it convenient to put religion in the service of politics. For, surely, even a cursory look at the antics of the IJI ensemble should be enough to convince anyone that it is not the other way round. It almost never is when those with political ambitions seek, with great fanfare, to serve the cause of religion. It was Zia's desperate quest for legitimacy that emboldened those who saw him as their mentor to voice the demand that Pakistan should be a Sunni (Hanafi) state. While encouraging such elements meant short-term political gains for Zia, the consequences of the Gulf that had been created was not difficult to foresee as the Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba and the Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria [TNFJ] arose to confront each other, violently, across the sectarian divide. If the emergence of the TNFJ and ASS can be seen as a direct, though possibly unintended, consequence of Zia's short-sighted and self-serving policies, his patronage of the MQM and Jeay Sindh was downright Machiavellian, expressly aimed at undermining what he understood to be the centrepiece of the political opposition, i.e., the Pakistan People's Party [PPP]. With regard to this aspect as well, Mian Nawaz Sharif's politics represent a continuity. Possibly, the one

major difference being that the three ethnic and sectarian organisations to emerge under the "Islamic" regime of Ziaul Haq have now come into their own and the political dynamic which they feed as well as symbolise cannot be dispensed with merely by adding to the laws that govern political activity.

At another level, in response to the crisis of a society fracturing along sectarian and ethnic lines, there is a renewed emphasis on minimising differences of culture and language, i.e., the need to see ourselves as Pakistanis rather than as Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis and Pashtuns. Far from being a remedy for any of our problems, this is a dangerous prescription. It is simply a reiteration of the 'unity is uniformity and uniformity is strength' thesis in order to concentrate power in the hands of the executive and to maintain the predominance of central authority in all spheres. Pakistan is a federation and without taking anything away from interests and aspirations that are common, it must be recognised, unambiguously, that the people of the federating units are characterised by distinctions of language and culture that are real though not necessarily antagonistic. The element of antagonism has crept in, almost invariably, as a consequence of the Centre's policies of exclusion of provincial political forces and uneven economic development.

The policy of emphasising Urdu, not as the lingua franca but at the expenses of regional languages as well as the pursuit of 'administrative unity' under the One Unit scheme, had disastrous consequences for Pakistan's unity—the most starkly illustrative being the loss of East Pakistan following the long decade of Gen Ayub's unitary policies that were to weld the nation together as never before. Despite such results, it was Ayub's model that Zia sought to emulate in terms of a unitary state where the executive held unchallenged power with the minimum quantum of autonomy for the provinces. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq have built upon this Ziaist legacy. The Eighth Amendment has enabled Ghulam Ishaq to retain the mantle of the de facto chief executive in most significant domains of policy and power while Nawaz Sharif, only occasionally out of step, has adopted the creeds of centralism and Islamisation, that were the hallmarks of Zia, with gusto.

Whether a ban on sectarian and ethnic organisations is a remedy may be debatable, but what is more certain is that while the politics of centralism, exclusion and rank opportunism hold sway, it is simply not going to be possible to check the divisive tendencies that now afflict our body-politic. The National Awami Party [NAP] of yesteryears is a good example of what cannot be achieved by the simple expedient of banning a political organisation.

U.S. Investors Said Leary of Investment in Country

93AS0031A Karachi DAWN in English 20 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Tariq Zaheen: "U.S. Investors Shy of Investing in Pakistan"]

[Text] New York, Sept. 19—The U.S. Government on Friday objected to the current ratio of national budget allocation for military spending in Pakistan.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), meanwhile, indicated, without specifically defining, that the "administration of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has recently assured the Fund to improve the structure of the budget further."

Besides the mixed reaction of the official lending agencies and the U.S. Government, the private investors also, by and large, expressed reservation about investment in Pakistan "under the existing political conditions in that country."

Their views came during and after a select meeting here on Thursday and, later, on the first day of the two-day investment conference jointly organised by the Government of Pakistan and the Citibank on "New Economic Environment in Pakistan" to coincide with Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz's visit in connection with the annual joint meeting of the World Bank and the IMF. He brought the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] case on foreign investment for the consideration of the U.S. private sector.

He had a mix of meetings with a number of groups and consortia who wanted to arrive at a "final decision" after going through "more details and specific discussions" with Islamabad.

DAWN talked to several potential investors who had attended these meetings and who were looking forward to exploring avenues in the "competing developing countries out to sell their foreign investment projects."

The official comment on Pakistan's military spending came at the investment conference where U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Nicholas Platt was very specific. He said: "The policy reforms enacted (by the IJI government) so far are only a first step on the road to Pakistan's economic recovery and prosperity. Much remains to be done, especially in terms of demand management.

"Large federal budget deficits over the last several years have crowded out investment, boosted inflation and sharply increased public debt." He said although efforts were made to cut government spending and boost tax revenues in Pakistan with the help of IMF, yet "there is still too much red ink." He thought that debt servicing currently consumed nearly 40 percent of the net federal revenues and "this will continue to grow unless deficit is brought down."

He said another 40 percent of federal revenues "go for defence spendings. In a world where defence expenditures are declining almost everywhere else Pakistan spends about six percent of its gross domestic product (GNP) on defence, one of the highest rates in the world," he added.

He made these remarks in the presence of Mr. Sartaj Aziz and his team of bureaucrats before a room-packed potential U.S. investors.

Addressing the meeting, IMF division chief Muhammad Al-Arian said Pakistan authorities had indicated their determination to bring about structural changes. These included an expansion of the privatisation programme, encouragement to investment in industrial zones, further improvement in budget structure and more liberalisation of trade, he added.

Highlighting the current sequence of policy measures taken by the IJI government, he said a Fund mission discussed key aspects of financial policies for 1992-93 during its just-concluded visit to Pakistan.

A number of prospective investors raised questions during the session and after the meeting. These included queries about the current political situation and future parliamentary strength of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

However, a number of leading U.S. companies were willing to explore the "real chances" of investing in Pakistan. But they wanted straight answers as against "offers of favourable environment."

A separate meeting of about 38 leading firms was arranged by a Pakistani group of consultants, the Amasafur Technology Company.

Firms such as Union Carbide, Dupont, Spartan Mills, Russel Corporation, Goodyear Tire, Ethyl Corporation and National Solvent, etc., were represented at the meeting.

The Chrysler Corporation indicated that it was interested in setting up a car manufacturing plant in Pakistan but would first like to discuss "specifics" in this regard. Their representatives and one from the Union Carbide had some initial discussion with Mr. Sartaj Aziz.

Private Sector Profits Said Rapidly Increasing

93AS0007C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Sep 92 p 4

[Text] Lahore (commerce reporter): In the short period of a year, profits of former government organizations privatized by the present government have increased more than 400-450 percent. According to privatization commission sources, [the rise in profits occurred] even though incomplete changes were made in machinery and the number of employees remained the same. These sources have said that next year nonessential expenditures will be reduced in many branches of these organizations, raising the percentage of total profits to more

than 700 and providing an impetus to increased investment by these institutions in the stock market. This would alleviate the crisis in that market. The sources said that compared to nationalized units, the recently privatized units had paid 60 to 66 percent more in taxes and duties, bringing more money to the central board of revenue. The sources said that the government is considering more concessions to those units whose profits have increased over the last two years. Moreover, on the recommendation of the privatization commission, those privatized institutions which have laid off the smallest number of workers will be granted special safeguards allowing all issues between union representatives and the new managements to be resolved amicably. The details of a proposal granting new tax exemptions on exports of machinery by industrial units carrying the smallest bank loans is being worked on and will soon be announced. According to privatization commission sources, the basic aim of these measures is to provide privatized units with the opportunity to manage their affairs with full confidence.

Competitive Advantage Sought by Local Auto Industry

92AS1550E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
15 Sep 92 p 9

[Article by Azhar Lari: "Auto and Allied Industry; Call for Rationalisation of Competitive Advantage"]

[Text] Karachi, Sept 14: Referring to the government highway scheme and revamped transport policy, the representatives of auto and allied engineering industry have emphasised that the policy must have more of a bias for local manufacture and that competitive advantage for local manufacture must be rationalised, with a view to developing this industry.

In a communication to the Prime Minister, Yusuf H. Shirazi, Chairman, Transport and Vendors Development Committee, National Engineering Manufacturers and Export Council of the Government of Pakistan, also recommended restoration of the two percent flexibility (plus or minus) as provided before, while rationalising the delegation programme.

He noted that ECC's [Economic Coordination Committee] decisions already made in allowing import of duty free materials by manufacturers and vendors for selling components must be implemented in letter and spirit, spare parts must be excluded from transport route to Afghanistan in order to reduce smuggling as well as make local parts compete with imported ones.

He suggested the sales tax be imposed on retail instead of at import or ex-factory prices. Alloy steel of specifications not produced in Pakistan be allowed to be imported liberally permitting also small players to take advantage of procuring small quantities locally which they cannot produce otherwise.

He said that representatives of four associations namely automobiles manufacturers, tractors manufacturers, two and three wheelers manufacturers, vendors, as well as independent experts and professionals from over a thousand engineering and allied industrial units feel that there is an obvious danger of a wrong message to local and foreign investors due particularly to any sudden scheme of importation of any auto-vehicle or tractors, old or new, except in CKD [Completely Knocked Down] condition for local manufacture.

Mr. Shirazi, therefore, submitted that there are over a dozen of auto manufacturers and over a thousand of vendors employing about 100,000 high-tech engineers and skilled men and as such, any employment scheme must not ignore employment of these engineers and skilled manpower.

He noted that since November 1990, the competitive advantage for local manufacture was withdrawn from 73/118 percent to 35 percent in case of CBU [Completely Built Up] and from 45 percent to five percent in CKD for bulk commercial vehicles. This had discouraged investment for local manufacture particularly by over 1000 vendor units and upcoming upsurge in this vital engineering sector to the detriment of the government policy to attract local and foreign investment.

About financing facility, he said all representatives of manufacturers and vending units had emphasised on providing facility of locally manufactured machinery. They also stressed on extending the benefit of setting up auto and allied engineering industries in rural area irrespective of their location. The current running financial cost which is now virtually 20 percent was regarded too high particularly for auto and allied engineering industry and recommended to be brought down to about 13 percent.

Majority of Cotton Crop Feared Destroyed by Floods

93AS0027G Lahore *THE NATION in English*
16 Sep 92 p 14

[Figures as published]

[Text] Lahore—Exceptionally high flood waters entered Multan and Muzaffargarh districts on Tuesday posing threat to Multan city, while the Shershah bund has been breached to save the main railway track.

Punjab Revenue and Relief Minister Arshad Khan Lodhi in his briefing about the latest situation of flood said around 3,000 villages of 12 districts in the province have been deluged by 1 p.m. Tuesday killing 103 persons and compelling 1.7 million people to move towards safer places.

A very high flood at Trimmu was observed with a discharge of 6,19,696 cusecs; however, the water level was falling. The Revenue Minister acting as official spokesman of the Punjab government was ignorant

about the breach of Shershah Bund which was breached at 11.30 a.m. while the briefing was held at 4 p.m. This breach at Shershah also helped in reducing the pressure at Bosan Bund.

The Minister said that all possible security measures were being taken to save Multan city where Bosan Bund and Shujaabad Canal, the two defence lines to the city were still intact. The flood situation at Panjnad was steady with a discharge of 3,28,574 cusecs but a surge of about one million cusecs was expected to pass from here on Wednesday.

He said river Indus was in medium flood at Taunsa with a discharge of 4,79,002 cusecs while at Kalabagh the river was in low floods and the water level at both points were falling.

A high rising flood was observed at Sidhnai in river Ravi where 76,451 cusecs discharge was observed at 1 p.m. The water level at Sidhnai was still rising. The river was flowing at low floods at Balluki and the situation was normal at all other places.

River Sutlej was at low flood with a discharge of 53,223 cusecs at Sulemanki where the water level was still rising. The river was flowing normal at Islam and Mailsi.

Provincial Agriculture Minister Ch Mohammad Iqbal said the flood water completely washed the crops cultivated over an area of 10,23,497 acres while 5,91,385 acres were partially damaged.

He said the paddy crop was affected over an area of 2,90,393 acres, cotton was destroyed on 6,96,064 acres and sugarcane on 1,08,839 acres.

He said a total of 14,46,363 acres of area was destroyed in 1988 due to flood but this year the destruction was even higher over an area of 16,14,882 acres.

Budget Deficit Said Inflamed by Floods

93AS0028B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 13 Sep 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Rain Calamity May Strike the Budget"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] If the gaping deficit in the national budget was a marginal worry for Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif this year, it will become a central concern in the months that follow the rain havoc. The bad news is that flooding has destroyed 15 percent of the cotton crop in Punjab, and official estimate that may have to be revised upwards when the extent of damage becomes clear. In central Punjab, between rivers Chenab and Jhelum, inundation has been quite frighteningly high; and that is where Pakistan's superior basmati rice is grown. Azad Kashmir has been hit quite badly. The reserves will have to be diverted there to save people from starvation. Most farmers hit by floods in the central and southern Punjab will have lost their food reserves and seeds, and will have to be compensated if the next crop is to be sowed. At the

final stage, when the government starts counting the cost of the natural calamity, it will discover that the expenditures have exceeded revenues far in excess of the gap of 45 billion they had written into the budget. Unofficial reckoning had put this gap beyond 110 billion; this may swell to proportions higher than the entire revenue budget estimations.

Already, the central grant given to Sindh to compensate for the losses there after heavy rains has fallen short of the provincial needs, as claimed by the Sindh government. In Punjab, NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Azad Kashmir too, the money set aside for rescue and rehabilitation will not suffice. The first priority will of course, be food, and that will translate into a bigger purchase this year from the international market. The imported wheat is normally subsidised, apart from the special subsidy accorded to Azad Kashmir, FATA [Federally Administered Tribal Areas] and Afghan refugees. A lot of food is going into Afghanistan unofficially because of the shortages there and also because of the low prices in Pakistan. The cost of subsidy will go much higher than the over-all wheat subsidy of 2.5 billion given in the last budget; and the import bill will swell the imbalance of payments that erodes the power of the rupee. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government, already under a cloud of uncertainty because of its running battle with the opposition and the threat of Islamisation to the economy, is faced with a colossal immediate drain on the finances. It has to undertake immediate austerity measures to show to the people that IJI leaders are with them; and that means cutting down foreign tours and removing extra fat from the administration by reducing the establishment. Needless to say, the IJI is not capable of doing this, hostage as it is to concessionary 'allies' in the parliament and support groups in the streets. The rains this year may damage the economy more than we can calculate at the present juncture.

Over 1 Million Acres in Cash Crops Said Destroyed

93AS0031B Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English
25 Sep 92 pp I, III

[Article by Javed Bashir: "Floods Destroy Crops Over 1.6 Million Acres in Punjab"]

[Text] Lahore, Sept 26—With the task of assessing the flood damage still under way, current estimates of losses caused to crops and infrastructure seem to be of a tentative nature.

The magnitude of the catastrophe, however, suggests that estimates of losses are expected to go up in the coming weeks, placing additional weight on an overburdened economy.

Although all provinces have suffered grievous damage, in terms of crop losses, Punjab is probably the worst sufferer. Being the agricultural heartland of the country, the province has a difficult task ahead. According to

Punjab Chief Minister, the province has suffered damage to the tune of Rs [Rupees] 16 billion during the floods which is believed to have destroyed crops over 1.614 million acres in the province.

Standing crops in over 3 million acres, according to initial reports, were destroyed, affecting more than 3,000 villages in 18 districts.

Among the cash crops affected, cotton suffered the most serious damage. Experts say that cotton production, accounting for 58 per cent of the 9.8 billion dollars exports last year, could be cut by 2.5 million bales. Punjab produces bulk of the country's cotton, and the production target in the province was earlier set at 11.417 million bales.

The Punjab Agriculture Minister earlier said that floods have completely or partially destroyed crops over 1.614 million acres in the province. Rice was sown over 2.93 million acres of which 97,834 acres were destroyed completely and 192,834 acres were partially damaged. Cotton was sown over an area of 5.951 million acres, of which 607,366 acres were completely destroyed and 88,698 damaged partly. Sugarcane was sown over 1.274 million acres of which 24,987 acres were completely destroyed. Another 83,852 acres damaged partly.

Although the government has announced remission of various land levies and decided to provide concessionary credit for recropping, including a reduced mark-up rate on loans up to Rs 20,000, the task of rehabilitation and reconstruction calls for proper assessment of the needs of the affected people.

If housing only is taken into account, the losses are so enormous. Current estimate of affectees in Punjab is 3.754 million. It is essential to compensate the people—for which survey is necessary to arrive at a realistic estimate of the allocation required to get on with the task of rehabilitation.

According to another estimate, the country needs about \$400 million for relief and reconstruction after the floods devastated 3.5 million acres of cropland in Punjab, swept away at least 16 major bridges and washed away a large number of roads. Damage to the vital irrigation network in the province is estimated to be Rs 1,225 billion but, with fresh reports coming in the number of villages likely to be affected could jump up to 4,362, covering a total area of 3.84 million acres in 18 districts.

The gravity of the challenge is indicated by the fact that funds may have to be diverted from the Annual Development Programme to make up for the losses and up to fifty per cent of the Rs 120 billion allocation for 1992 could be reappropriated.

The challenging task of relief, under the government's instructions, is to be supervised by elected representatives at various levels. The floods, by disrupting output targets, have made it impossible to maintain the current

growth rate of 6.5 per cent. This calls for ensuring effective and scrupulous utilisation of resources, especially when foreign donations and international assistance is far from encouraging. Only if the credibility of the relief and rehabilitation here is demonstrated will other countries feel encouraged to come forward and help Pakistan during this crucial phase.

The World Bank gave Pakistan 40 million dollars after floods in 1988 but experts feel that if generous international aid is to be obtained, the utilisation and organisation of available resources has to be effective, however stupendous the task. It is unfortunate, many argue, that at this time, some parties seem to be vying with one another to make the most of the present tragic situation.

Assistance from outside would be crucial for rehabilitation in particular. This can be greatly facilitated by setting priorities so that the affected people are able to resume normal life in the agricultural and industrial sectors. In this context, farm to market roads should be rebuilt urgently wherever necessary, so that sowing of crops could begin and access to consumer centres, especially in urban areas is established.

Initial estimates of losses to roads and bridges ranged between Rs 2.0 and 2.5 billion, but recent assessments suggest that the damage might be greater. The Rs 100 million worth damage to the telecommunications network is also thought to be conservative. It is, therefore, necessary that the task of assessing damage be taken very seriously so that proper arrangements for rehabilitation could be made and assistance be sought on that basis.

Official bodies set up to coordinate relief in the circumstances must provide reliable information about projects which could be delayed to take care of the flood ravages in the next three months, the minimum period required to bring things back to normal.

For the immediate problem of relief, some vital decisions have to be taken so that the supply of essential goods to stricken people is not disrupted. Security agencies will have to gear up efforts to check the smuggling of essential commodities on a priority basis.

Mechanisms will have to be devised to check pilferage which can prevent many generous people from coming forward to assist in this crucial task. Lessons have to be drawn from the present tragedy to upgrade preparedness which seemed at a low ebb during the recent deluge. Infrastructure should be created and snags appearing during the current floods be kept in mind while developing institutionalised arrangements. Pakistan's balance of payments may be affected following an estimated increase in imports of the order of \$300 to 400 million dollars to meet the emergency. However, if proper steps are not taken for future challenges, Pakistan's trade deficit could worsen even further.

Foreign Exchange Crisis Seen on Horizon

93AS0031C Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English
26 Sep 92 pp I, III

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "The Looming Foreign Exchange Crunch"]

[Text] The foreign exchange liabilities of Pakistan are rising rapidly without a corresponding growth in the means to discharge those liabilities smoothly. The former development is due to the new loans needed for development, (including in the power sector); the foreign investments made on which the dividends have to be paid in dollars along with interest payments on foreign exchange deposits in banks.

This steady rise in the foreign exchange liabilities is coming at a time when the foreign debt of Pakistan (long-term as well as short-term) has mounted to \$22 billion, and the official debt servicing cost has risen to \$1.5 billion annually. The balance of payments deficit too rose \$2.5 billion in 1991-92 while the official projection hitherto was \$2.8 billion.

Undoubtedly, a certain amount of foreign exchange came into Pakistan as bank deposits by overseas and resident Pakistanis, as well as through direct foreign investment and the money which came in purchase shares of Pakistani companies. This totalled around \$100 million.

Higher Imports

While some commitments—such as for power production—are essential even at a time of dwindling foreign aid in order to stimulate economic expansion in Pakistan, some of the steps are not essential and are the outcome of mistaken priorities on the part of the Prime Minister.

Work on the \$1.5 billion Hubco Power Project has started on the basis of 20:80 equity—loan ratio. Among the major lenders is the World Bank through its various agencies.

Following this project, which has been described as the largest single private sector power project in the world, will be seven other private sector power projects, which are to wipe out the large power deficit in the country.

However, we will have to import more oil to feed the oil fired power projects, along with spare parts and other equipment on an annual basis as our own oil production barely meets 30 percent of the country's needs.

An agreement has been signed with China for the import of 800 buses at a cost of \$20 million.

The agreement has been described as the largest single export of buses by China.

Automobile manufacturers in Pakistan like the Hino Motor have been asking why the manufacturing capacity of Pakistan cannot be used for making such buses?

The sky seems to be the limit for import of taxis under the PM's [Prime Minister] self-employment scheme with Rs [Rupees] 3.8 billion already spent. While Pakistan is making its Suzukis and will manufacture Toyotas from January an amazing range of foreign made cars are being imported, including Daewoo Pacers, Hyundai 93, Toyota Coronas and Corollas and Nissan Cedric.

Such import taxes are upsetting not only the car manufacturers in Pakistan but also hundreds or thousands of autopart makers who have to pay heavy taxes on their products. If such large scale import of taxes, with considerable tax relief continues, Pakistan's nascent built heavily taxed auto-industry will be hit hard, the autopart makers may run out of business, particularly at a time when massive smuggling in of such parts has undermined the industry.

If the Prime Minister's plane, a Boeing 737, is not paid for in cash now, the loan—estimated at around \$40 million—has to be serviced year after year foreign exchange.

Direct foreign investment, the investment on the stock exchange, the foreign deposits in banks and investment on the FE [Foreign Exchange] bearer bonds by foreigners, overseas Pakistanis and resident Pakistanis are all entitled to payments of dividends interest in foreign exchange. If the economy shakes or stumbles, much of the investment can vanish within a short time. That would put the country in very serious trouble.

Along with that, we have to pay for the foreign exchange component of the billion-dollar Motorway in the Punjab as well as Daewoo's charges as the builders. Overall, the highway development is to cost Rs 105 billion in five years, and two of the contracts for over Rs 3 billion have been given to a Turkish company. That means the right of the company to repatriate the profits along with the foreign exchange cost of the project. As the highway projects gain momentum, so will foreign exchange liabilities.

The rapid expansion of the telephone system with the assistance of foreign companies is also adding to the foreign exchange burdens.

Development Expenditure

Of course, some of these developments are essential but normally along with the rise in foreign exchange liabilities, adequate steps should have been taken to boost foreign exchange earnings on a permanent basis. That does not seem to be taking place despite the fact that the balance of payments deficit in 1991-92 was \$2.5 billion.

While exports increased by 12 percent, imports jumped by 22 percent. So the target for higher exports has been made more realistic for the current year—15 percent—while imports are to rise by 7.5 percent.

However, because of the recession in the West and the fall in export of cotton products as well as the sharp

decline in their prices, the export rise may not be very substantial. Following the liberal import policy, including for the large variety of taxis, buses and coasters along with more oil as well as higher prices for it, the import bill may rise much higher than the projected \$9.9 billion.

Until recently, the home remittances had been providing a cushion to the large trade deficit; but now they have fallen to a half of what they were at their peak of \$2,886 million. And that is because of not only the fall in the overall remittances but also the fact that a part of those remittances—about \$400 million—has come as deposits in the foreign exchange accounts in Pakistani banks.

What is even more disturbing about such deposits is that even if they are cashed now, the persons who cashed them could reclaim the same in foreign exchange later at the rate of exchange prevailing then. That means that the remittances which came on as foreign assets have to an extent now become a part of the lasting foreign exchange liability of the country.

On the other hand as investments and deposits by outsiders in Pakistan increase the deficit on the service sector is rising.

As more ships are engaged to bring in Pakistani cargo and more Pakistanis are going out as tourists, the current \$2 billion liability in the Service sector is likely to increase.

While foreign investment is welcome in industries, we have also to acknowledge the fact that around 40 percent of the imports in Pakistan now are industrial raw materials. So what we need now is more industries using indigenous raw materials and not depending on expensive imports.

Foreign investment would be even more welcome if that results in larger exports by such companies. But most of the investment is coming for meeting the domestic needs as such companies do not want to compete with the products of their parent companies in other countries.

The need of the hour is an integrated concept and scientific planning, and not a series of reforms which undercut each other, while the government hopes for the best results. It will be a folly on the part of the government to hurt the established industries including the foreign-owned units, in its efforts to woo the new capital. And its efforts to promote self-employment should not undermine the overall employment.

There has to be a sustained focus on increasing exports in a big way despite the deterrents arising from the current world recession. We have not only to export more of the non-traditional products but also look for more of the non-traditional markets. Above all, there has to be a revolutionary improvement in the quality of the products.

Finally, there has to be a relentless drive for exporting more of the value-added which also means really higher value products, particularly in textiles and leather.

Exporters have to be goaded to bring in all their foreign exchange earnings and not retain a part of them abroad. Efforts have to be made to reduce, if not eliminate altogether, the large kickbacks obtained by the importers of machinery for setting up industries.

None of these talks are easy. They can be more successful or rewarding in an environment of political stability and a political consensus on economic strategy. The government has hence to clean up its vision, take more realistic decisions and move in the right direction with a single-minded purpose.

Anti-Tank Missile Manufacture Said Successful

93AS0059C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 18 Sep 92
p 1

[News Report by Javed Siddiq]

[Text] Islamabad: Pakistan has used its resources to build an anti-tank missile called "Baktar Shikan" [armor destroyer], which was built in the Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan Laboratories. The missile can destroy tanks and armored vehicles. A model of the missile is being displayed in the 1992 science and technology fair arranged by the ministry of science and technology. The missile, which was built by Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan Laboratories, is on display in the A.Q. Khan booth at the fair, and a large number of Pakistanis are viewing it with great interest. Also displayed in the booth and viewed with great interest is a model of the ground-to-air missile Anza-1 built by the same laboratories. The anti-tank missile can seek out its target even at night and disable enemy tanks. Reportedly, work is in progress to make the range and targetting capacity of the missile 100 percent accurate.

Difficulty in Obtaining Parts for F-16's Viewed

93AS0007B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 30 Aug 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Difficulty in Obtaining Spare Parts"]

[Text] Pakistan is experiencing difficulty in obtaining spare parts for F-16 planes and the federal minister for production, Bijarani, blames Pakistan's friends for creating this problem. Those whose friendship we trusted in the past are now creating problems for us; consequently, the government is proceeding with its policy of self-sufficiency. Special technology is needed to build spare parts for F-16 planes and this technology is not accessible without licenses which we cannot obtain at the present time; hence, alternative arrangements have to be made. In the past, Pakistan has learned bitter lessons from the faithlessness of friends who abandoned it at crucial moments; but we continue to put our faith in friends. An effort is underway to create a defense production board in the private sector which would include experts from the three branches of the armed forces to provide guidance to the private sector. In this way we might at least achieve self-sufficiency in building spare parts. The private sector's defense industry would receive tax exemptions and tax rebates; after all, as Mr. Bijarani has pointed out, the defense sector is not a sacred cow which cannot be touched. The effort to overcome the difficulties in obtaining spare parts is a commendable one; we should revise the priorities in our foreign policy as well because those friends for whose sake in the past we jeopardized our safety and faced numerous economic problems now shun us. Delay in obtaining F-16 spare parts could prove an obstacle to good relations because the agreement under which F-16s were obtained does not exclude the supply of spare parts. Moreover, the supply of aircraft spare parts to purchasers is both a legal and moral responsibility. It is to be hoped that the difficulty in obtaining spare parts will end soon.

Government Said Seeking Technology Transfers

93AS0007F NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Sep 92 p 3

[Text] Islamabad (APP): Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani, federal minister for defense production, said that the Pakistan Air Force is trying to meet modern requirements and is therefore seeking to purchase the most modern planes in order to be able to deal with any challenge. He made this statement here to press representatives before leaving for London where he will attend flight demonstrations in a week-long air show featuring fighter aircraft manufactured by different countries. Bijarani said because of the delay in the delivery of F-16 planes from the United States, Pakistan will have to seek alternative sources. The air show in London will feature Russia's SU-27 and MiG 29, France's Mirage 2000, and the latest French plane called "Raphael," which is still in the testing stage [?]. Bijarani said that the air show will afford Pakistan the opportunity of seeing and evaluating the latest air defense systems; Pakistan cannot match India in number of planes nor can Pakistan have extensive resources; hence it is best that in order to strengthen its defense, Pakistan pay attention to quality as well as to the acquisition of the latest technology.

In answer to a question regarding the delivery of U.S. F-16 planes, Bijarani said that the matter has not ended as yet and Pakistan is still hopeful but no delivery will be made because of U.S. elections; a decision will be made after February 1993 when, following the election, a new U.S. administration will take office; in the United States important decisions will be made only after the elections. The federal minister said that new planes will be purchased only on the recommendation of the Pakistan Air Force [PAF]; hence, chief of PAF, Chief Marshal Farooq Feroz Khan will also attend the air show and demonstrations. Bijarani said that the planes purchased can be either the same or different types; the planes have different features and capabilities; it is up to the Air Force to select the type of plane it considers the most useful. Bijarani said that Pakistan has negotiated the purchase of a squadron of F-7 planes from China but these are not very modern planes. The minister said that before negotiating any defense deal, it is necessary to make certain that the technology of the defense system will be delivered as well. In regard to cooperation in defense production, Bijarani said that China is cooperating more than any other country.

Next to China, the United States, Sweden, and France are cooperating with Pakistan in the defense production sector. In answer to a question, he said that Pakistan has purchased 50 Mirage 5 planes from Australia out of which 14 have already been overhauled and delivered to Pakistan. Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani has left for London to attend the Farnborough air show which will be held 6-15 September. Before his departure, he told press representatives at Islamabad airport that in addition to witnessing the performance of the latest planes at the air show, he will also talk with experts from all parts of the world; thus witnessing the performance of planes and talking with experts will help in the easier acquisition of the latest technology to fulfill Pakistan's defense requirements. Bijarani expressed the hope that his trip will help Pakistan's technological progress through the transfer of technology.

Analyst Sees Class Differences Exacerbating*93AS0031G Karachi DAWN in English 20 Sep 92 p 11*

[Article by Eqbal Ahmad: "A Question of Values"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The President of Pakistan has it right: to nurture democracy one needs to build and reinforce democratic institutions, traditions and values.

I commented last week in this space on the question of institutions arguing that over four decades these have been undermined, when not assaulted outright, not by ordinary citizens but by the elite which controls the state. Five factors have so far defined the collapse of parliamentary governments in Pakistan. First, politicians have been venal beyond reason, and disrespectful of the ethics of democracy no less than of the rule of law. Second, the military has had a tendency to intervene when politicians fail. This intervention has invariably been in fulfilment of personal ambition, not of the national interest. Third, the bureaucracy has favoured the certainties of authoritarian rule over the embarrassments and pressures of open politics. Fourth, the dominant external power has found it easier to do business with praetorian governments unhampered by public opinion or undue consideration of the national interest. Fifth, there has existed no countervailing force in civil society to offset these four negative ones at the state level.

At the roots of this imbalance between non-democratic and democratic forces in our political life lie the questions of tradition and values. The relationship among tradition, institutions and values is symbiotic. Traditions, of course, rest on values. As traditions take root, they reinforce and consolidate values, and ensure institutional stability. In turn, institutions are the mechanisms which operationalise values, guard against their violations, and ensure respect for tradition.

Values then are central to the stability and growth of any social and political system. When these disintegrate, society and polity go down also, ever deeper into a crisis. Values are a set of beliefs which effectively inform social and political behaviour both at the individual and collective levels. I put an emphasis on the word 'effectively' because in our society, the excess of lip-service to values is matched only by the paucity of adherence to them. Barely a waking hour passes without some national figure invoking Islamic or democratic values. In reality, those public pronouncements are mere compliments of vice to virtue. Values—Islamic no less than democratic—are notable for their absence in our political and, increasingly, our social lives.

We have progressively lost the will and capacity to relate the abstract principles, which we so frequently invoke, to our individual and collective behaviour. Consequently, democratic and Islamic values—there is in fact a large measure of congruence between the two—are the primary casualties of our collective schizophrenia. We

might take here three values which are central to democracy and, I believe, Islam: tolerance, equality, and justice.

Three questions arise: One, to what degree do tolerance, equality, and justice actually exist in our society? Two, to the extent that they remain unfulfilled or partially fulfilled ideals, what is being done to realise them? Three, if we are making negligible effort at operationalising the values we so insistently espouse, what explains our failure?

On the question of tolerance, our recent record is fortunately mixed. Citizens have freedom of speech and association. There is a greater degree of official tolerance toward the Press and intellectuals than there had been at almost any time in the history of Pakistan. The resulting sense of freedom has so far had a salutary effect. The Pakistani Press is livelier than ever before. True, it has the faults of infancy, and makes occasional mistakes of negligence and poor reporting. But, its detractors notwithstanding, it is making by and large a positive contribution toward good government and a better society. More importantly, many qualified and motivated young people have entered the profession raising both the standard and promise of journalism in Pakistan.

Regrettably, the improvements have occurred primarily in the English language Press. Hopefully, the trend would gradually expand to journalism in the vernaculars. Hopefully too, officials would have the wisdom to renounce the residual habit of harassing journalists whose pen pricks them, and of rewarding the pliable ones under the table. They ought to remember that in democracy, it is the duty of the Press to play an adversarial role in relation to institutions of power. Some of us do go overboard; against them there are libel laws to protect individual rights. But it is the 'power friendly' journalist who does real harm to state, society, and his profession.

But tolerance, as a whole is sorely lacking at most other levels in our polity. Relations between the government and the opposition is so marked by distrust and intolerance that even the basic code of democratic conduct is violated daily. In no self-conscious democracy would a government deny the leader of opposition the use of an aircraft to inspect a disaster area. The Press should help in raising government-opposition relations from the feud(al) to civil contestation.

A greater obstacle to the growth of a tolerant environment lies in religious sectarianism. These have been spreading poison against other citizens on religious grounds. In recent weeks this harmful trend has been a subject of salutary public concern. There is talk even of banning sectarian formations. This is not a good idea, for suppression merely drives a movement underground, further narrows and distorts it, and creates undeserved public sympathy for it. There are other, democratic, lawful, and wiser ways of controlling sectarian intolerance.

Democracy can have neither meaning nor legitimacy unless it is identified with a commitment to equality and justice. In these two areas, Pakistan is not merely lacking; it has made no progress. Patterns of inequality have augmented here both vertically and horizontally, along class lines and across the country. Forty-five years after independence, we have become a dual society in every sense of the word.

Equality does not imply equivalence in wealth, education, housing, health, or material possessions. In that sense a degree of inequality exists in every, even the most egalitarian society. What it does imply is freedom of every citizen from want; equality in the exercise of the right to life, social mobility, and citizenship—to health, education, and access to justice. In this limited, political sense of the word, equality is non-existent in our society. And without it, democracy remains a mere word, at best an expression of hope for our underprivileged majority of fellow citizens.

We are divided not only by wealth but also by language, space, education, access to power, and above all by what we can hope for our children. English, the vehicle of social mobility, is now the language of the elite in a way that it was not in the colonial days. Colonial officials who used to live apart, in exclusive GOR [expansion not given] colonies, were a tiny mostly foreign minority. Today, every city holds the affluent in one set of spaces; the poor in another. The "beautiful people" have locked the poor people out. The apartheid map of Pakistan looks uglier in many respects than those of South Africa and Israel because it represents an internal, hence potentially a more lasting failure.

Even natural disasters in our country have an undemocratic aspect. The victims of this most recent flood, for example, are to a man, woman, and child, Pakistan's under-privileged citizens. It is this poor majority alone which keeps our statistics of infant mortality, illiteracy, ill-health, and malnutrition among the highest in the world. Yet, they are the people who produce the surpluses which makes possible the luxuries of the few who live, by and large, unproductive lives.

Equality and justice are symbiotically linked. Where there is inequality, there will be injustice. Take a look if you wish at the indicators of justice. White collar crime is rarely punished in our country. Our jails are packed by the poor. Except for the targets of political vendettas—thankfully fewer these days—the many victims of police torture and landlord cruelties are also the poor. And there is barely a recourse for them to the courts of law.

Inequality and injustice are age-old ills. Democracy cannot cure them instantly. But, to become legitimately rooted in the soil, it must take the first steps toward the cure. And it must not, repeat must not, let these ills augment. It is in this utilisation sense, I fear, that we and our governments have failed. In fact, unless the rage

toward privatisation is complemented by social legislation designed to ensure distributive justice and devolution of power, inequalities and injustices shall augment in our society. Like India, we shall remain a formal legal democracy; better than the corrupt dictatorship we have had, but not much better.

It is difficult to disagree with Maulana Abdul Sattar Edhi that this country has become increasingly divided between two classes. With an overpowering simplicity, he defines them starkly as *zalim* and *mazlum*. Individuals on both sides of the divide, he says ruefully, have nevertheless retained the freedom to choose sides: they can choose to identify with the *zalim* or the *mazlum*. Failure to make a choice is a choice, he insists. One can, incidentally, learn more about democracy, and Islam too, by listening to Maulana Edhi and Dr. Akhtar Hamid Khan than to the cosmos filling rhetoric of our politicians and 'Islamic' ideologues.

Waste Disposal From Hattar Industrial Estate Probed

92AS1550B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
15 Sep 92 p 4

[Article: "Chemical Wastes From HIE (Hattar Industrial Estate) Playing Havoc in Area"; figures as published]

[Text] Haripur, Sept. 14: A large amount of chemicals and other hazardous substances daily drained by the industrial units of Hattar Industrial Estate (HIE) into water bodies of the area are playing havoc with the lives of people who have no choice but to drink the same contaminated water.

The laboratory analyses of water samples extracted from the area show the water carries hazardous substances that can kill slowly anybody who drinks it.

These evidences were recorded at a seminar here organised by two non-governmental organisations, Sungi Development Corporation and Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research. A large number of industrial workers, labour leaders and representatives of various local welfare associations addressed the seminar.

Despite heavy rains Wednesday the turnout at the seminar was good. The speakers were unanimous in the opinion that contamination of water bodies should be declared a crime against humanity as it amounted to murder.

The first session of the seminar was closed, just on the pattern of people's court, where people of the area recorded their statements.

The tradition of public hearing goes back to the times of Bertend Russel who set the tradition of such courts where war criminals were tried. In the later 1970s some lawyers and human right activists formed permanent public tribunals to hold public hearings against disposal of hazardous wastes.

The Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) is conducting hearing in Bhopal on October 19 where the cases of Asian countries would be presented, a Pakistani woman lawyer, Asma Jehangir has been selected by PPT as one of the judges on the panel. The case of Hattar Industrial Estate would also be presented before PPT.

Representation of Dingi Social Welfare Association, Malik Aurangzeb, said the only water source around his village (Dingi) has been polluted by the industrial waste thrown by Hattar units to such a dangerous level that everybody had fallen ill. "We welcome the setting up of industrial estate in our area because we thought that it would create new employment opportunities for us, but it has gone the other way. Locals are not employed in these units instead they are being deprived of clean drinking water and left to die."

Ibrar Shah of Hattar Welfare Society said labour working in industrial units were direct victims of pollution. He informed that out of every 700 workers only 12 were locals.

Omer Ashgar Khan said that 6,89,000 children in Pakistan would die by drinking contaminated water during the next year.

Among others who spoke on the occasion included Kazi Anwer, former Advocate General (NWFP) [North-West Frontier Province] Begum Mehnaz Rafi, labour leaders Aslam Adil and Gul Rehman, Mohammad Liaqat and Zubair Ashraf.

The House unanimously adopted the resolutions that Hattar Industrial Estate and surrounding areas should be protected from pollution and contamination caused by industrial wastes, water treatment plants be set up and locals be employed according to quota, and income tax ceiling for labours be raised from, Rs[rupees] 40,000 to Rs 100,000.—APP

Arab Sheikhs' Purchase, Mistreatment of Children Condemned

93AS0027F Lahore THE NATION (Supplement)
in English 16 Sep 92 p 29

[Article by Muhammad Abbas Zaidi: "Culture of Perverts"]

[Text] It was shocking to read the other day a news item about the plight of "camel kids." According to a newspaper report, affluent Arab Sheikhs buy tiny children (below 12) from some "backward" areas in Pakistan and use them for their most beloved sport, i.e., camel race. These Arab Sheikhs, after paying a handsome amount of money to the parents of these children, carry them away to the "playground" in the Arab deserts. These minors are tied on camel backs in a most inhuman way. The competing camels run when the children on them start crying. Hence, the "better" crying it is, the faster the camels would run. In order for the children to cry "better" it is, by implication, necessary that they are tied

in a most cruel way. The plight of these camel children can be judged from the fact that after a race is over, they are not able to walk. So they are buried up to their necks in the sand for sometime so that they would be able to walk later. An inevitable result of this sport is that these children, given the manner of their being tied, are permanently deprived of masculine qualities. Practically they become eunuchs.

This inhuman sport played by the crazy Arab Sheikhs was reported during the Zia regime also. But nothing was done by the "Islamic" government of the past. Even now the present "Islamic" government has not reacted to the report at all. Like in the past, the matter has been hushed up. The reason is clear: Arab Sheikhs are not only our Muslim "Brothers," they also give our government a lot of dollars from time to time. Hence, as beggars cannot be choosers, and our successive governments have been ideal beggars, the present government does not have the choice even to protest against this inhumanity. But our people are not beggars. They have self-respect which is found missing in a beggarly government... Consequently, some voices have been raised. But nothing has happened because it is for a government, whatever its nature or standing, to take such an action.

Without exception, our successive governments have been averting their eyes from these bouts of misdeemeanour committed by the Sheikhs at the cost of the country's people and environment. Everybody knows why the Sheikhs have built palaces in the deserts of the Punjab but all the governments have been silent.... Moreover, these Sheikhs have endangered wildlife. For example, tilor (bustard) is hunted with a passion only because its flesh is supposed to be highly aphrodisiac. Now bustards are an endangered species. But the government has not nabbed a single culprit. Of course, if an ordinary Pakistani does the same, he would be punished for hunting an "endangered species."

To give the devil his due, it is not the Sheikhs who are to blame for this. It is our governments that provide succour to their various perversions. It is only in a country like India or Pakistan that a 50-year-old Sheikh can marry a 10-year-old girl. Not so in the West and a number of non-Western countries.

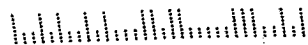
Prime Ministers like Z.A. Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif have been saying in the past that the people of Pakistan would, if they have to, even prefer eating grass in order to carry on the national nuclear project. How can a prime minister ever forget that self-respect of a nation is far more important than a nuclear programme. People of Pakistan would like to eat grass in order to protect their self-respect from a pack of perverts. Pakistan can be a developed, respectable country only if honour, self-respect and love for independence are the guiding principles of the policy makers. One's crimes cannot be condoned only because one is loaded with dough, or one belongs to a holy land, or speaks a holy language.

Despite all the facilities accorded to our Muslim "Brothers," Pakistani governments have failed to command respect from them. This is why, in the Arab world an American is called "Ya Habib" and a Pakistan

"Brother" is called "Miskin." The difference is clear. It is hoped that our government would like to think of Pakistani people as a nation of humans. Even bastards are to be respected.

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